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**The Itinerary
of
Fynes Moryson
In Four Volumes
Volume III**

GLASGOW

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MCMVIII

An Itinerary

Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through
the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmer-
land, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke,
Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England,
Scotland & Ireland

Written by
FYNES MORYSON
GENT.

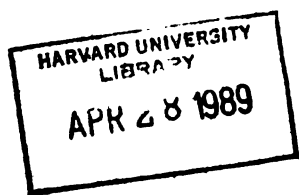
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MCMVIII

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Chap. II.

Of the besieging of the Spaniards at Kinsale, with
the delivery of the Towne to the Lord Deputy,
and their returne into Spaine in the same yeere
1601.



He 16 day of October, his Lordship with
the Army rose from Corke, and encamped
five miles short of Kinsale, at a place
called Owny Buoy. The 17 the army
rose, & marching towards Kinsale, en-
camped within half a mile of the towne
under a hill called Knock Robin, where

*The besieging
of Kinsale.*

some few shot of the Spaniards offered to disturbe our
sitting downe, but were soone beaten home. Wee had
at that time scarce so much Powder as would serve for a
good dayes fight, neither had wee any competent number
of tooles, so as wee could not intrench our selves, for these
provisions were not yet come from Dublin. That day
Captain Morgan came out of England with one of the
Queenes ships, and our Master Gunner came from Water-
ford, advertising that some ships of provisions, sent from
Dublin, were come to that Port, where they were enforced
to stay by a contrary wind, being Southerly. The
eighteenth the Army lay still, and we viewed the fittest
places to incampe neere the Towne: but our Artillerie
being not come, we removed not. And that night the
Spaniards made a salley, much greater then the former,
to disturbe our Campe, but our men soone repelled them
without any losse to us. The nineteenth wee lay still,

A.D.
1601.

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*Skirmishes
with the
enemy.*

expecting provisions, and that day, our men sent to view the ground, had some slight skirmishes with the enemy, and Don Jean after professed, that hee never saw any come more willingly to the sword, then our men did. That night Sir John Barkeley was appointed to give Alarum to the Towne, who did beate the Spanish guardes set without the Towne, into their trenches. The next night after, some sixteene hundred Spaniards came to the top of the hill, under which wee lay, either with purpose to cut off some of the scouts, or to attempt some thing on the Campe: But Sir John Barkeley lying with a party of ours not exceeding three hundred, discovered them, and skirmishing with them, killed some dead in the place, tooke some Armes and other spoyle, and hurt divers, and did beate them backe to the Towne, without the losse of any one of our men, and onely three hurt.

*Cormock
Mac Dermot.*

The one and twentieth Cormock Mac Dermot an Irish man, chiefe of a Countrie called Muskerie, came with the rising out (or souldiers) of his Countrie, to shew them to the Lord Deputy, who to the end the Spaniards might see the meere Irish served on our side, commanded them at their returne to passe by the Spanish trenches, made without the Towne on the top of the hil, but lodged strong parties (out of the enemies sight) to second them. The Irish at first went on wel, and did beat the Spanish guards from their ground, but according to their custome, suddenly fell off, and so left one of the Lord Presidents horsemen ingaged, who had charged two Spaniards: but Sir William Godolphin commanding the Lord Deputies troope, when he saw him in danger, and unhorsed, did charge one way up on their grosse, and Captaine Henry Barkley Cornet of the same troope, charged another way at the same instant, and drove their shot into the trenches, and so rescued the horseman with his horse, comming off with one man hurt, and onely one horse killed, from the great numbers of Spanish shot, whereof foure were left dead in the place, divers carried off dead into the Towne, and many hurt.

[II. ii. 142.]

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1601.

The two and twentieth day Captaine Button arrived at Corke with the Queenes Pinnis, called the Moone, which wafted other ships bringing victuals and munition from Dublyn, and the same day came to the Campe, advertising that the same shippes were come from Waterford towards Corke. That night his Lordship sent him backe, to bring his ship about to Kinsale Harbour, and to take with him Captaine Wards shippe from Oyster Haven, where it lay to guard the victuall and munition we brought with us.

*Victuals and
munition: from
Dublyn.*

These two ships were commanded to annoy the Castle of Rincoran, seated close upon the harbour of Kinsale, and possessed by the Spaniard; but after they had spent many shot upon the Castle without any great effect, because their Ordinance was small, they lay still to keepe the Harbour, that neither the Castle nor the Towne might be releaved by water, which was the chiefe end of their comming. The three & twentieth the Dublyn shipping arrived at Corke, & were directed to come presently to Oyster Haven, where we might unlade the Artillery (which could not be brought by land), and other provisions for the present use of the Army.

The foure and twenty day it was resolved, we should rise and incampe close by the Towne, but the shipping being not come about with the artillery and other necessaries, that day was spent in dispatching for England. And by night Captaine Blany and Captaine Flower were sent out, to lie with five hundred foote, to intertaine the Spaniards which were drawne out of the Towne, but they came no further, and so our men returned.

This day his Lordship and the Counsell wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

*Letter to the
Lords in
England.*

IT may please your Lordships, since our last dispatch from Corke, which bare date the fourth of this present moneth, we spent some time there, expecting the coming of the old Companies out of the Pale and Northerne parts, and hoping to be supplied with victuals, munition, and other necessaries from Dublyn, without which we

A.D.
1601.

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*The Countrey
conceives the
Queenes forces
to be weake.*

*Spaniards and
English forces
equal.*

[II. ii. 143.]

saw it would be to little purpose to take the field. But when we had staid there till the sixteenth, & were not provided of munition, (none being come to us from Dublyn or from Lymricke, whether we had likewise sent to have some brought to us), and wanting both victuals, and most of the provisions belonging necessarily to so great a siege, yet to invest the Town where the Spaniards are lodged, from receiving succours both of victuals and of such as were disposed to joine with them, and withall to avoid the opinion, which the Countrey beganne to conceive of our weakenes, because wee did not draw into the field, we resolved the sixteenth day to rise, and the next day did sit downe within lesse then halfe a mile of the Towne, keeping continuall guardes round about the enemy. We can assure your Lordships that we doe not thinke our selves much stronger (if any thing at all) in numbers then they are, whose army at their setting to sea, did beare the reputation of sixe thousand, and we have cause to judge them (because since our last letters to your Lordships, there arrived another ship at Kinsale, which brought five hundred men more unto them) now to be above foure thousand by the Pole. In both these points of number in reputation or by Pole, they differ not much from ours, for it may please your Lordships to consider, that the whole force we can draw into this Province (leaving the Pale, Connaght, and the North provided for, as it may appeare by this inclosed note they are in some measure) doth not excede in lyst 7000, and of those we are enforced to leave some part upon the borders towards Lymricke, to be some stay to the whole Countrey, and it must in reason be thought, that our Companies generally are weake in numbers, seeing they have had no supplies of a long time, and that we desire two thousand to reinforce them, besides that many are taken out of them for necessary wards, some are sicke, and many of the Northerne Companies lie yet hurt, since the late great skirmishes against Tyrone, which they performed with good successe but a little before they were

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A.D.
1601.

sent for to come hither. Wee doe assuredly expect, that many will joine with Tyrone, (if hee onely come up towards these parts), and almost all the Swordmen of this Kingdome, if we should not keepe the field, and the countenance of being Masters thereof, how ill provided soever wee doe find our selves. Wherefore wee most humbly and earnestly desire your Lordships to hasten away at the least the full number of such supplies of horse and foote as we doe write for in our last, and that it will please your Lordships to beleieve from us, that if the Countrie should joyne with Tyrone, and make a defection, our chiefe securitie will be in the horse we must receive out of England, for the most of these here already, are much weakned and harazed out, with their continuall employment in every service. It may also please your Lordships to consider, that in a siege, where foure thousand such men as these Spaniards, are possessed of any place whatsoever, there will bee necessarily required royall provisions, and great numbers to force them, neither can it bee thought, but the sword and season of the yeere will continually waste our Army, so as we are enforced earnestly to desire your Lordships, while this action is in hand, to send us continuall supplies, without which this Army will not be able to subsist. And although (grieved with her Majesties huge expence) we are loth to propound for so many men as are conceived to be needefull and profitable for the present prosecution of this dangerous warre, yet wee are of opinion, that the more men her Majesty can presently spare, to be employed in this Countrie, the more safe and sudden end it will make of her charge. And not without cause we are moved to sollicite your Lordships to consider thereof, since wee now perceive that we have an Army of old and disciplined souldiers before us of foure thousand Spaniards (that assuredly expect a far greater supply), and much about twenty thousand fighting men, of a furious and warlike nation of the Irish, which wee may justly suspect will all declare themselves against us, if by our supplies and

*Reinforce-
ments eagerly
desired.*

*The more men
the quicker
end.*

A.D.
1601.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Supplies from
Spain
expected.*

strength out of England, they doe not see us likely to prevaile. These Provincials (a few of Carbry only excepted, appertaining to Florence Mac Carty) do yet stand firme, but no better then neutralitie is to be expected from those which are best affected, nor is it possible to discover their affections, untill Tyrone with the Irish Forces doe enter into the Province, who (as the Councell at Dublin write) is providing to come hither. The supplies from Spaine are presently expected: If they should arrive before our Army be strengthened out of England, or before this Towne of Kinsale be taken, it must be thought a generall defection through out the Kingdome (wherein wee may not except the Townes) will ensue, and then the warre will be drawne to a great length, and the event doubtfull. If the Queenes ships doe not in time come to Kinsale, our taske will bee very heavie, with this small Army to force so strong an enemye, so well provided of all necessities for the warre. Wherefore wee humbly beseech the sending of them away, which will not onely give us a speedie course to winne the Towne, but also assure the coasts for our supplies, and give an exceeding stay to the Countrie (the enemye fearing nothing more, and the subject desiring nothing so much as the arrivall of her Majesties Fleete.) The sixtie lasts of Powder and sixe pieces of battery with their necessities, the victuals and all things else, written for in our former letters, wee humbly desire may presently bee dispatched hither, and although so great a masse of victuals, as is needefull, cannot bee sent at an instant, wee desire it may bee sent as it can bee provided, and directed for the haven of Corke. What wee shall bee able to doe till our supplies come, wee cannot say: but what we shall have reason to feare, except they come in time, your Lordships may judge. Onely wee assure your Lordships, that her Majestie (with the helpe of God) shall finde, wee will omit nothing that is possible to bee done, nor shunne any thing that may bee suffered, to doe her the service wee owe unto her. If in the meane time, by all our

*Powder and
Battery
desired.*

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1601.

letters both to the Councell at Dublin, and all others in this Countrie, to whom we have occasion to write, we give out these Spaniards to bee in number not three thousand, in their meanes scant and miserable, in their persons weake and sickely, and in their hopes dismayed and amazed; we hope your Lordships will conceive we do that, but for the countenancing of our party, and to keepe as many as we can from falling from us. On the other side, Don Jean de l' Aguyla the Spanish Generall, hath used many arguments to move the Irish to defection, and among other (which is very forceable and fearefull unto their wavering spirits), he telles them, that this is the first great action that the King his Master hath undertaken, and assures them he hath protested, that he will not receive scorne in making good his enterprise, and that he will rather hazard the losse of his Kingdoms, then of his Honour in this enterprise. The Priests likewise (to terrifie the consciences) threaten hell and damnation to those of the Irish, that doe not assist them (having brought Bulles for that purpose), and send abroad Indulgences to those that take their parts. These and such like pollicies (as their offering of sixe shillings a day to every horseman that will serve them) doe so prevaile with this barbarous Nation, as it is a wonder unto us, that from present staggering they fall not to flat defection, as they will soone doe, if they once discover them of abilitie to give us one blow, before the comming of our supplies and meanes, which wee are most earnestly to sollicite your Lordships to hasten, assuring your Lordships that nothing will more confirme the state of this Kingdome, then the arrivall of her Majesties Fleete, which wee are resolved by the best judgements may be employed in these parts to prevent the arrivall of forraine succours. Yet in the meane time we will omit nothing that shall be feasaible with the force we have, neither have we been idle since our comming hither, having had continuall skirmishes, whereof two especially were well performed by our men. The first the twentieth of this moneth,

[II. ii. 144.]

*Spanish
arguments to
move the Irish
to defection.*

*Her Majesties
Fleete.*

A.D.
1601.

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*Irish serve
against the
Spaniards.*

when the enemy by night sallyed with more then a thousand foote, to cut off a guard of horse we kept neere the Towne, and purposing to attempt something on our Campe; but three hundred of our men led by Sir John Barkley did incounter them and beat them backe, with losse of many of their men, and some bodies left in the field, by whose spoile our men were encouraged, and returned with triumph. The other, the next day when Cormock Mac Dermot, chiefe Lord of Muskerie, coming to the Campe, to shew us his rising out, we willed him to returne by the Spaniards trenches, that they might see the Irish serve on our side against them, where they entertained a good skirmish, but soone falling off, a horseman was engaged and unhorsed: but Sir William Godolphin with my troope rescued him, charging close to their trenches, in a way flanked by two trenches, and filled with great numbers of shot, yet returned (to our great marvell) with little or no hurt, having beaten them from their strength, and killed many of their men, whereof they left some behind them, besides others wee saw them carry off. From this beginning we hope God will so blesse our just quarrell, as shortly we shall have cause to enforme you of better successe. We understand that Tyrone will presently come hither, which if he doe, your Lordships can judge how weake we are to deale both with him and the Spaniards.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to Master Secretarie.

*Letter to
Master
Secretarie.*

Sir, what we desire, and how our affaires are disposed of, you have by our general letters to my Lords. Now I will desire, that my unremoveable affection may be held as a conclusion so absolutely granted, that I may no more trouble you with any ceremonies; for you shall finde, that I will not value my life, nor any fortune of this world to make you assured demonstration thereof, when I shall have the happinesse to have power and occasion to shew it. Onely now touching the point of

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my Lord Presidents comming over, to take from you any doubt, that in my owne particular I could not earnestly concurre with you, I doe protest on my Christianitie, that I know no man in this Kingdome, that I could have been better pleased, should have been the deliverer of my affections and actions, then himselfe, and by him unto you, and from you might have delivered and received much, which I desire most to doe; neither do I know any, who I conceive could have delivered more sufficiently the present state of this Kingdome, nor propounded to greater purpose for her Majesties service the course that will be fittest for you in England to embrace. But against mine owne private desire, he hath opposed his own peremptory distaste of the motion, with this protestation, to hate me if I should urge it. Besides, it seemes to me against the publike commodity, in so weighty a cause to send away so worthy an instrument, and deprive our selves of the assistance we receive thereby at this time, (especially the stage of this great action being chiefly in his owne Province, in the which the successe of his governement doth best shew what authority his judgement and presence doth carry). So that I conclude, for your sake, his owne and mine, but especially for the publike, at this time he cannot well be spared from hence, besides that he hath vowed to fall out with all, if it be urged. And although these spoiles of ambition are of all other the most unwillingly shared by men of our profession; yet I protest I am glad, even in this great goale of honour, to runne equally with him, and to participate with all his adventures. This band of the honour we beare to you, and mutuall affection to each other, having for chiefe knot the service of our dearest Sovereigne, there is no corruption that may be likely to dissolve it; and therefore I hope it is tied by the hand of God, and it shall not be in the power of man to loose it. I am assured, that you and I thinke, the State of England cannot but conceive the importance of our worke: for now *Jacta est alia* betweene England and Spaine, and

*My Lord
President.*

[II. ii. 145.]

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1601.

*Letter to
Master
Secretarie.*

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we that doe play the game, have least interest in the stake, though we will winne or loose our lives, to shew that we doe not play booty: wherefore I hope you will not forget us, for *vestra res agitur*: And let this onely argument, which I could confirme with many circumstances, oppose it selfe against the Counsels of those, that will sell their birth-rites in Heaven it selfe, to please their owne envious and partiall pallates, that the warre of the Low-Countries was begunne, and hath beene maintained with few more naturall Spaniards, then are arrived here already; and that putting armes and discipline into this people, they are more warlike then any of his auxilaries. Sir I will trouble you no longer, being desirous to doe somewhat worth the writing. God send us an Easterly winde, and unto you as much happines as I doe wish unto my owne soule. From the Campe by Kinsale this 24 of October 1601.

Yours Sir most assured for ever
to doe you service,
Mountjoy.

*Deserters from
the Spaniards.*

The five and twenty the Army was ready to rise, but the weather falling out very foule, direction was given not to dislodge. Foure naturall Spaniards came this day to us from the Enemy, who the next day were sent to Corke. This night Sir John Barkeley went out with some three hundred foot, having with him Captaine Flower, Captaine Morris, and Captaine Bostocke, and fell into the Spaniards trenches, and did beate them to the Towne, fell into the gate with them, and killed and hurt above twenty of the Spaniards, having but three hurt of our men. Hitherto we lodged in Cabbins, so as it rained upon us in our beds, and when we changed our shirts.

The sixe and twenty the Army dislodged and incamped on an hill on the North-side before Kinsale, called the Spittle, somewhat more then musket shot from the Towne, and there intrenched strongly. When we sat downe, we

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1601.

discovered that the Spaniards had gotten a prey of two hundred or three hundred Cowes, and many sheepe, which were (in an Iland as it seemed) upon the South-east side of the Towne, beyond the water, which wee could not passe but by going eight or nine mile about, where there was a necke of land to goe into it. Captaine Taffe being sent with horse and foot, used such expedition in that businesse, as he attained the place before night, and by a hot skirmish recovered the prey, save onely some twenty Cowes that the Spaniards had killed, although they were under the guard of a Castle, called Castle Ny Parke. which the Spaniards had in possession.

*Captures by
the Spaniards.*

The disposall of the whole Army in Ireland the seven and twentieth of October 1601.

*The disposal
of the Army
27 October
1601.*

Left at Loughfoyle.

Sir Henry Dockwra 50. Sir John Bolles 50. Horse 100.

Sir Henry Dockwra 200. Sir Matthew Morgan 150. Captaine Badby 150. Sr John Bolles 150. Captaine Erington, 100. Captaine Vaughan, 100. Captaine Bingley, 150. Captaine Coach, 100. Captaine Basset, 100. Captaine Dutton, 100. Captaine Floyde, 100. Captaine Oram, 100. Captaine Alford, 100. Captaine Pinner, 100. Captaine Winsor, 100. Captaine Sydley, 100. Captaine Atkinson, 100. Captaine Digges, 100. Captaine Brooke, 100. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine Orrell, 100. Captaine Leigh, 100. Captaine Sidney, 100. Captaine Gower, 150. Captaine Willes, 150. Captaine W. N. 100. Foote 3000. [II. ii. 146.]

Horse left at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Governour, 50. Captaine John Jephson, 100. Horse 150.

Foote left at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Governour, 200. Sir Foulke Conway, 150. Captaine Egerton, 100. Captaine Norton,

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1601.

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The disposal of the Army 100. Captaine Billings, 150. Captaine Phillips, 150.
27 October Foote 850.
1601.

Foote left in Lecale.

Sir Richard Moryson the Governours Company under his Lieutenant, himselfe attending the Lord Deputy at Kinsale, 150.

Horse left in Northerne Garrisons.

At the Newrie Sir Francis Stafford, 50. At Mount Norreys, Sir Samuel Bagnol, 50. Horse, 100.

Foote in North Garrisons.

At the Newrye Sir Francis Stafford, 200. At Dundalke Captaine Freckleton, 100. At Carlingford Captaine Hansard, 100. At Mount Norreys Captaine Atherton, 100. At Armagh Sir Henrie Davers under his Lieutenant, himselfe being at Kinsale, 150. At Blackwater, Captaine Thomas Williams, 150. Foote, 800.

Horse left in the Pale, and places adjoyning.

In Kilkenny the Earle of Ormond, 50. In Kildare the Earle of Kildare, 50. In West-meath the Lord of Dun-sany, 50. In Lowth Sir Garret Moore, 25. Horse, 175.

Foote in the Pale.

At Kilkenny the Earle of Ormond, 150. Captaine John Masterson, 100. Captaine Thomas Butler, 100. At Carlogh Sir Christopher Saint Laurence 150. Sir Francis Shane, 100. Sir Tilbot Dillon, 100. Sir Edward Fitz Garret, 100. Sir Henrie Harington, 100. Sir Richard Greame, 100. At the Nasse Sir Laurence Esmond, 150. In Ophalia Sir George Bourcher, 100. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir Henrie Warren, 100. In Leax Fort, Sir Francis Rush, 150. To be placed by the Counsell at Dublin, Sir Henrie Power under his Lieutenant, himselfe being at Kinsale, 150. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir William Warren, 100. Captaine Guest, 150. Captaine Cawfeild, 150. At Kildare the Earle of Kildare, 100. Captaine Ocarrol in his Countrie, 100. At Kelles the

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1601.

Lord of Dunsany, 150. In West-meath the Lord of Delvin, 150. Capitaine Mac Henry, 100. At Ardee Sir Garret Moore, 100. Capitaine N. N. 150. Foote 3150. *The disposal of the Army 27 October 1601.*

Horse left in Connaght.

The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. Capitaine Wayman, 12. Horse, 62.

Foote left in Connaght.

Sir Oliver Lambert Governour, 150. The Earle of Clanrickard, 150. Sir Thomas Bourk 150. Capitaine Clare, 150. Capitaine Thomas Bourk, 100. Capitaine Malbye, 150. Capitaine Tybbot ne Long, 100. Capitaine Davy Bourke, 100. A Company void for the Judges pay, 100. Foote 1150.

Totall of Horse 587. Totall of Foote 9100.

The Lyst of the Army with his Lordship at Kinsale.

The old Mounster Lyst.

Sir George Carew Lord President, 50. Sir Anthony Cooke, 50. Capitaine Fleming, 25. Capitaine William Taffe, 50. Horse 175. [II. ii. 147.]

Foote of the old Lyst.

The Lord President, 150. The Earle of Thomond, 150. Lord Barry, 100. Lord Audley, 150. Sir Charles Wilmot, 150. Master Treasurer, 100. Capitaine Roger Harvey, 150. Capitaine Thomas Spencer, 150. Capitaine George Flower, 100. Capitaine William Saxey, 100. Capitaine Garret Dillon, 100. Capitaine Nuse, 100. Sir Richard Percy 150. Sir Francis Barkeley, 100. Capitaine Power, 100. A Company for the Earle of Desmonds use, 100. Foote 1950.

New Companies sent into Mounster lately,
which arrived and were put into pay the fourth of
September past.

The Lord President added to his Company, 50. The Earle of Thomond added to his Company, 50. Sir George Thorneton, 100. Capitaine Skipwith, 100. Capitaine

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*The disposal
of the Army
27 October
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Morris, 100. Captaine Kemish, 100. Captaine North, 100. Captaine Owslye, 100. Captaine Fisher, 100. Captaine Yorke, 100. Captaine Hart, 100. Captaine Lisle, 100. Captaine Ravenscroft, 100. Cap. Rich. Hansard, 100. Captaine George Greame, 100. Captaine Yelverton, 100. Captaine Panton, 100. Captaine Cullom, 100. Captaine Hobby, 100. Captaine Gowen Harvy, 100. Captaine Coote, 100. Foote 2000.

Horse brought from the North and the Pale to Kinsale.

The Lord Deputies troope, 100. Sir Henrie Davers, 100. Master Marshall, 50. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, 25. Sir Henrie Harrington, 25. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir William Warren, 25. Sir Richard Greame, 50. Sir Oliver Saint Johns, 25. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine George Greame, 12. Horse 436.

Foote that Sir John Barkeley brought from the borders of Connaght to Kinsale.

Sir John Barkley, 200. Sir Arthur Savage, 150. Sir Oliver Saint Johns, 200. Sir John Dowdall, 100. Captaine Kingsmill, 100. Captaine George Blount, 100. Captaine Bostock, 100. Foote 950.

Foote brought out of the Pale by Master Marshall, and from the Northerne Garrisons by Sir Henry Davers to Kinsale.

The Lord Deputies Guard, 200. Master Marshall, 150. Sir Benjamin Berry, 150. Sir William Fortescue, 150. Sir James Fitz-piers, 150. Sir Thomas Loftus, 100. Sir Henrie Follyot, 150. Captaine Edward Blany, 150. Captaine Josias Bodley, 150. Captaine Rotheram, 150. Captaine Thomas Roper, 150. Captaine Roe, 150. Captaine Trever, 100. Captaine Ralph Constable, 100. Foote 2000.

At Kinsale, Horse 611. Foote 6900.

Total of the whole Army in Ireland, Horse 1198. Foote 16000.

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Of the sixe thousand nine hundred foote at Kinsale in Mounster, one Company of one hundred was converted to the Earle of Desmonds use (who was then kept in England), and some were placed upon the borders of the Province, to bee a stay to the Countrie. And all the old Bands called out of the North, the Pale, and Connaght, were very deficient in number, having been long worne out in skirmishes, journies and sicknesses, without any supplies lately sent out of England, though much and often desired. These sixe thousand nine hundred foote were distributed into Regiments, commanded by Colonels, as shall appeare at the increase of the List the next moneth.

The seven and twentieth day, our Artillerie and provisions sent from Dublin, were landed at Oyster Haven, our munition was brought into the Campe, and the front of the quarter that faced the Towne, and both the flanks of our trenches were more strongly fortified, and the Campe was round about intrenched, and all those workes perfected, which could not bee done the day before, by reason of the foule weather.

*Artillerie
landed at
Oyster
Haven.*

[II. ii. 148.]

Now the Spaniards held the Castle of Rincorane from their first landing, and because it commanded the Harbour of Kinsale, so that our shipping could not safely land our provisions neere the Campe, it was thought fit to make the taking thereof our first worke. To which purpose Sir John Barkeley, Sir William Godolphin, and Captaine Josias Bodley Trench-Master, were sent to chuse a fit place to plant our Artillerie against the Castle. The 28 day two Colverings which had not been long used, were made fit, and the next day they were mounted. The Spaniards were in the towne foure thousand strong, and wee had not many more in the Campe by Pole, though our Lyst were more. That night the Spaniards issued out of the Towne by water, to relieve the Castle, but Captaine Buttons ship did beate them backe. The thirtieth day the two Culverings began to batter the Castle, but one of them brake in the eavening.

*The Castle of
Rincorane.*

In the meane time the Spaniards gave an Alarum to

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Spanish
Alarums.*

our Campe, and drew a demy Canon out of the Towne, wherewith they plaid into the Camp, killed two with the first shot, neere the Lord Deputies tent, shot through the next tent of the pay-Master, (wherein we his Lordships Secretaries did lie) brake a barrell of the Pay-Masters money, with two barrells of the Lord Deputies beare in the next Cabin, and all the shot were made, fell in the Lord Deputies quarter, and neere his owne tent.

This night the Spaniards attempted againe to relieve the Castle, but Sir Richard Percy having the guard, with the Lord Presidents Regiment under his command, did repulse them. The one and thirtieth day the colvering battered the Castle, and that morning another culvering, & a canon, being planted, they plaid without intermission, which while we were busily attending, 500 of their principall Spaniards came out of Kinsale (with shew to go to relieve Rincorran by land) and drew toward a guard we kept betweene Rincorran and the Towne (leaving a great grosse for their seconds, under the walles), under that colour to give a safe passage for their boats to the Castle. Whereupon divers broken Companies out of the Regiments in the Campe (being all in armes) drew voluntarily that way, and Sir Oliver Saint Johns sent out Captaine Roe his Lieutenant Colonel and Sir Arthur Savages Lieutenant with one hundred men, and seeing them likely to draw on a round skirmish, hee himselfe tooke thirtie shot of his owne Companie, and went up to them, where he found Captaine Roe and those with him, skirmishing with the enemies shot, being two hundred, and having another grosse lying neere the Towne to second them. And seeing the Spaniards come up close with their Pikes to give a charge, he joyned with Captaine Roe, and incountring them, did beate them backe to their seconds, making them to retire hastily, the Spaniards then playing upon our men with shot from every house in that part of the Towne. In this charge Sir Oliver Saint John received many pushes of the Pike on his Target, and with one of them was slightly hurt in the thigh, but hee killed a

*A round
skirmish.*

*Sir Oliver
Saint John.*

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Leader and a common souldier with his owne hand. The Lord Audley comming up with his Regiment, was shot through the thigh. Sir Garret Harvy was hurt in the hand, and had his horse killed under him, Captaine Buttlers Lieutenant was slaine, and foure other of our part. Sir Arthur Savages Lieutenant was shot through the body, and fourteene other of our part were hurt. The enemye left ten dead in the place, besides their hurt men, which we apparantly saw to be many, and the next day heard to be seventie, by one who saw them brought to the house, where their hurt men lay, and who reported, that eight of them died that night. Likewise in this skirmish Juan Hortesse del Contreres was taken prisoner, who had been Serjeant Major of the Forces in Britany, and our men got from them divers good Rapiers, and very good Armes.

*A Serjeant
Major of the
Spaniards
taken prisoner.*

All this while our 3 pieces battered the Castle, till six of the clock at night, when those of the Castle did beate a Drumme, which the Lord President (whom the Lord Deputie had left there, when himselfe in the evening returned to take care of the Camp) admitted to come unto him. With the Drum came an Irish man borne at Corke, and these in the name of the rest, prayed that with their Armes, Bagge and Baggage, they might depart to Kinsayle. This the Lord President refused, and said hee would not conclude with any but the Commander of the Castle, neither had commission to accept any composition, but yeelding to her Majesties mercie. Presently they sent another Drumme, and a Serjeant with him, but the Lord President refused to speake with them. At their returne the Commander himselfe, being an Alfiero (or Ensigne) called Bartholomeo de Clarizo (for the Captaine had his legge broken) came unto the Lord President, but insisting on the condition to depart with Armes, Bag and Baggage to Kinsale, his offer was refused. After he was put safe into the Castle, wee began afresh the battery, and they more hotly then ever before bestowed their vollies of shot on us. But the first of November

[II. ii. 149.]

*The Castle
battered.*

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*Terms of
composition
discussed.*

at two of the clocke in the morning, when they found how the Castle was weakened by the fury of our battery, they did againe beate a Drumme for a parley, but we refusing it, many of them attempted to escape under the rocke close to the water side, which our men perceiving, drew close up to the Castle, and hindered their escape. The first of November earely in the morning, the Lord President came to the Campe, and made relation of that nights proceedings to the Lord Deputie, where it was determined, that if they would render the Castle and their Armes, upon promise of life to the Spaniards onely, and promise to send them safe into Spaine, they should be received to mercy, which was concluded, because the speedie taking of the Castle was of importance to the more easie furnishing us with all provisions from that harbour, and of reputation to our side, as also because we could not enter the breach without losse of good men (which we esteemed pretious, being no more by Pole in the Campe, then the Spaniards in the Towne besieged by us, by reason our Companies were very deficient in the numbers of the List, having not been supplied out of England of a long time), and because this noble dealing with the Spaniards in the Castle, might induce those in Kinsale, to leave the Towne upon like composition, when they felt the misery, whereunto wee hoped ere long to bring them. About one hower of the day the Alfiero sent word to the Lord President (by that time returned) that he would quit all their Armes, and render the place, so as they might be suffered thus unarmed to goe into Kinsale, which being refused, hee intreated that himselfe alone might hold his Armes, and bee put into Kinsale, which being also refused, he resolutely resolved to burie himselfe in the Castle. His Company seeing him desperately bent not to yeeld, did threaten to cast him out of the breach, so as they might be received to mercy. So as at last he consented to yeeld, and that all his people should be disarmed in the Castle (which was committed to Captaine Roger Harvy then Captaine of the Guards,

*The Castle
yeelded.*

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to see it done), that the Alfiero himself should weare his sword till hee came to the Lord President, to whom he should render it up. And this being done, they were all brought prisoners into the Campe, and immediatly sent from thence to Corke. The Spanisch thus yeilded, were in number fourescore and sixe, and foure women (whose names I have, but omit them for brevitie), besides a great multitude of Irish Churles, Women and Children, but not any Swordmen; for those being skilfull in the waies, had all escaped, one Dermot Mac Carty only excepted, who was a Pensioner to the King of Spaine, and heretofore a follower to Florence Mac Carty. Also some thirtie Spaniards had been slaine in the defence of this Castle, which was now yeilded to us, those in Kinsale, not making one shot at our men the while, but standing as men amased.

The prisoners.

The second of November, finding how much we had to doe, in taking Rincorran Castle with our weake provisions, it was concluded, that all attempts against Kinsale Towne were in vaine, till wee were better furnished for such a businesse, which notwithstanding we made daily countenance to take in hand. This day we drew our Ordinance from the Castle into our Camp. The third day of November the Spanisch Serjeant Major in Britanny, taken in a skirmish, and the Alfiero yeilding at Rincorran, obtained licence to write to Don Jean de P Aguylla, and one of our Drums had licence to carry their letters, who staid in the towne all the following night.

And this day his Lordship received letters of supplies sent out of England, whereupon he wrote to the Counsell at Dublin, and to Sir Arthur Chichester, to make stay of certaine Companies, which lately hee had directed to bee brought out of the North and the Pale, to the Campe at Kinsale. Touching the said supplies, her Majestie writ to the Lord Deputie this letter following.

[II. ii. 150.]

[Elizabeth

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Elizabeth Regina.

*The Queenes
Letter.*

New leavies.

Right trusty and well beloved, Wee greet you well. Upon such advertisements as Wee have received from divers places, of a Fleete dispatched from Spaine, with a good number of men of warre to bee landed in that Our Realme, in assistance of Our Rebels there, We have thought good to send from hence some further forces for increase of Our Army there, to enable you the better to make head against them, if they shall fortune to land. Wherefore We have caused to be leavied here the number of two thousand men, and appointed them to be embarked by the twentieth day of this moneth of October (above the other two thousand lately sent unto you.) For this two thousand now leavied, because We cannot certainly judge here, whether you shall finde most commodious for Our service, either to use them for the filling up of decaied Bands there, or to retaine them in Companies, or to employ some of them for filling up the decaies of other Companies, and to retaine other some in Bands. We have thought good to leave the disposition of them to your discretion, with the advice of our Councill, and onely to authorize you hereby, that forasmuch as any part of them which you shall retaine in severall Bands, will be above the number of Our Establishment, for the payment whereof, neither you nor Our Treasurer have any warrant, that you may give warrants to Our Treasurer for the paiment of the whole or any part of the said two thousand, which you shall find necessarie to retaine in Our pay in Bands severall, above the number of Our Establishment, or any other former Warrant limited, the said paiment to be made in lending and apparrell, as other Our souldiers there are paid, and to begin from the day of their landing there. Since the writing of thus much to you, concerning the two thousand preparing, Wee have received advertisements of the landing of the Spaniards at Kinsale, whereupon we have added a further supplie of three thousand men more, to be sent

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to you. And for that it may be, We shall have cause to increase or alter the numbers of Our Armie, as Our service shall require, We doe therefore give you warrant, to give order from time to time for the paiement of all such numbers of men there, either horse or foote, above the number limited by Our Establishment, as you shall bee from Our privy Councill here, or sixe of them (whereof our Treasurer of England, and Our principall Secretarie to be two) authorized to retaine in Our pay, as Our service shall require. Given under Our Signet at Our Mannor of Richmond, the fourth day of October, in the fortie thee yeere of Our Raigne.

*Warrant for
paiement above
the Establish-
ment.*

Postscript. Of al these numbers two thousand shal be imbarked in Our own ships by the fourteenth of this October at Rochester, because they shal be secured in their transportation. Two thousand more shall bee sent by the twentieth of this moneth to Bristow and Barstable, and the fifth odde thousand shall be sent to Loughfoyle; so as Our leavie is now in all five thousand men.

The same day his Lordship received another letter from the Queene, of her owne hand, and signed below, not above (as she usually signed), as followeth.

Since the braine-sicke humour of unadvised assault hath seized on the hearts of Our causelesse foes, We doubt not but their gaine will be their baine, and glory their shame, that ever they had the thought thereof. And that your humour agrees so rightly with Ours, Wee thinke it most fortunately happened in your Rule, to shew the better whose you are, and what you be, as your owne hand writ hath told Us of late, and doe beseech the Almighty power of the Highest, so to guide your hands, that nothing light in vaine, but to prosper your heede, that nothing be left behind, that might availe your praise, and that your selfe in venturing too farre, make not the foe a prey of you. Tell Our Army from Us, that they make full account, that every hundred of them will beate a thousand, and every thousand theirs doubled. I am the

*A Letter from
the Queenes
owne hand.*

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bolder to pronounce it in his name, that ever hath protected my righteous cause, in which I blesse them all. And putting you in the first place, I end, scribbling in hast,
Your loving Sovereigne
E. R.

*Tenne shippes
of warre for
Mounster and
their supplies.*

The same day his Lordship received letters from the Lords in England, signifying that tenne shippes of warre set sayle from Rochester, with the first wind after the eight of October last, to attend the Coast of Mounster, wherein were sent two thousand foot for the Army in Mounster, under Captaines appointed. That two thousand more were then levied to bee sent to the Army, by the way of Bristow and Barstable, which were left to his Lordship, to bee disposed in supplies or Companies, as hee thought fit. That one thousand foote more were sent to supplie Loughfoyle Garrison. That two hundred horse were sent to his Lordship for the Army, and fifty horse to Loughfoyle. That they had sent his Lordship, besides the former twenty last of powder, thirty last more. That they had sent large provisions of victuals. And that they greatly commended the Lord Presidents providence, that he had made his souldiers formerly live of their pay in money, and so preserved the former store of victuals in Mounster, for this time, without which the Army could not have kept the field till the new provisions arived. The last part of their L^{rs}. letter followeth in these words: Hereunto we must adde this, as that whereof our selves have been a good while both hearers and observers. That no Prince can apprehend with better acceptation your Lordships proceeding in that Kingdome, then her Majestie doth, in so much as she used often this speech, that she would not wish her Army there, nor the safetie of her people in better hands then in yours. In whom (and so in other Principall Officers of her State and Army) as she doth observe, that all difficulties are well entertained with alacritie and resolution; so we must let your Lordship know, that when her Majestie had read a private

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letter of yours to mee the principall Secretarie, written from Kilkenny with your owne hand, assoone as you had heard the newes of a forraigne enemie, it pleased her Majestie to cause it bee read to us all, as being written in a stile, wherein shee discerned both the strong powers of your owne minde (in promising to your selfe all happy successe against such an enemie) and the lively affections you beare to her person (for which you desire to bee made a Sacrifice), wherein although you have not deceived her former expectation, yet her Majestie would have you know, that shee doth not doubt, but you shall live to doe her many more services, after you have made the Province of Mounster serve for a Sepulcher to these new Conquerours. Of the foure thousand men which now her Majestie sendeth into Mounster, wee send onely two thousand under Captaines, the rest wee leave to conductors, to be used as you shall please, when they arrive, and to displace any whom wee doe send, if you thinke them not sufficient. Now therefore till wee heare further from you, wee have no more to say, but that wee account our selves all in one ship with you; that wee will all concurre to advance by our Ministerie, whatsoever her Majestie shall resolve to doe for you, all of us having one ende and one desire, to inable you as her Majesties principall instrument, to free that Kingdome from the malicious attempts of forraine power, and to redeeme it out of the inward misery by intestine rebellion.

*The Queenes
favour.*

The fifth of November foure barkes with munition and victuals that were sent from Dublin, arrived in Kinsale harbor, and upon certaine intelligence, that Tyrone was comming up with a great Army to joyne with the Spaniard, it was resolved by the Counsell of State, and the Colonels of Councell at warre, that the next day the Camp should be fortified against Tyrone, on the North side furthest from the towneward, and that the next day following, the Lord President with two Regiments of foote, consisting of two thousand one hundred men in Lyst, and with three hundred twentie five horse, should draw to the borders

[II. ii. 152.]

*The Camp to
be fortified
against
Tyrone.*

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of the Province, to stop, or at least hinder Tyrones passage. To which purpose the Lord Barry, and the Lord Bourke, with the forces of the Countrie, had direction to attend the Lord President.

The sixth day the Campe was accordingly fortified, and the seventh in the morning, the Lord President with the said horse and foote left the Campe, at which time it was concluded by both Counsels, that wee could attempt nothing against the towne, untill either the Lord President returned, or the new Forces and provisions promised from England arrived, it being judged a great worke for us in the meane time, to continue our lying before the Towne, since the Spaniards in the Towne were more in number, then we who besieged them.

The same seventh day his Lordship and the Counsell here wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

*Letter to the
Lords in
England.*

IT may please your Lordships. The first and second of this present moneth, we received her Majesties and your Lordships most comfortable letters, of the fourth and sixth of the last, and for the speciall care, it pleaseth you to take of us doe yeeld (as we have just cause) our most humble and heartiest thanks, protesting that we will labour to deserve the same and the continuance which it pleaseth your Lordships to promise thereof, with the uttermost of our endeavours and services, even to the sacrificing of our lives. And in the meane time humbly pray your Lordships both to accept in good part and favourably to report unto her Majestie, what hitherto we have been able to performe, though nothing to that we did affect, if our meanes had answered our desires, or that little we expected to come frome Dublin, which we sent for upon the Spaniards first landing here, had by a more favourable wind arrived sooner, as we hoped. Wee beseech your Lordships give us leave to referre you for your information in that point to the Journall which herewithall we send, for thereby wee conceive will best appeare, both what wee have done, and were enabled to

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*Letter to the
Lords in
England.*

doe, since the returne of Master Marshall and other Officers and Commanders, sent of purpose into the Pale, and the parts Northwards, to draw the forces thereabouts the more speedily hither to us, and to hasten hither such other provisions, as give us leave here we should have need off. And with your Lordships favour, license us to adde, that wee can hardly proceede any further, till our supplies of men and munitions come; for we finde it a worke of great difficulty and assured losse of men, and expence of al provisions of warre, to undertake with these meanes we have to force so many men out of any place, although it were not greatly otherwise fortified but by the bodies of men onely, whereas this Towne of Kinsale hath a good wall, and many strong Castles in it.

Wee doe looke howerly for Tyrone, esteemed to be comming with a great Armie of horse and foote, selected out of all the rebels in Ireland, and from all others that he can seduce to his partie. At his comming these Provincials will discover themselves either against us or neutrals (as they are) for better wee doe not expect from them. Except our supplies doe come before his arrivall, wee shall hardly bee Masters of the field, but rather driven (wee feare) to discontinue our siege; yet if her Majesties shipping, provisions, and supplies, doe arrive in any time, we hope to give her (ere it bee long) a good account of this place; though wee desire your Lordships to consider the difficulties we have to contend with in this Countrie and season of the yeere, besides the force and opposition of the enemye. I the President doe acknowledge the receipt of such an intelligence, concerning Captaine A. as it pleaseth your Lordships to remember, and since that time kept very good spiall upon him, and have had the sight of all his papers, yet cannot find any thing gives me cause to suspect him; and therefore we all thinke it fit, seeing his Company is returned hither among other, to make use of his service here, for which we find him very fit, untill there may be some apt occasion to dispose of him elsewhere, without giving him discontentment, unlesse we

*Tyrone
howerly
expected.*

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had more particular and certaine ground to charge him with, which wee must receive from thence: yet in the meane time hee shall bee so narrowly looked unto, as if hee have the will (which wee doubt not), hee shall not have meanes to hurt much.

The same seventh day his Lordship understanding from Master Secretary by his letter dated the nineteenth of the last moneth, and received the second of this moneth, that he found her Majesty inclined to make one Governour over all Ulster, and especially to like of Sir Arthur Chichester for that great charge, whereupon hee purposed to proceed therein, if his Lordship would explaine himselfe, how hee would have that matter carried.

*Sir Arthur
Chichester
advised to bee
made Governour
of all
Ulster.*

His Lordship wrote his minde plainly therein, advising that Sir Arthur Chichester should bee made Governour of all Ulster, by what name it should please her Majesty to give him, whereby hee might direct all the parts of that Province, and be resident where he should thinke fittest for the service, commanding in chiefe where he came. The managing of the warre to be in generall left to himselfe, except he received particular directions upon speciall occasions from England, or from the Lord Deputy, adding that from him the Lords might be more speedily enformed, of what is done, or fit to be required for the making of that warre, whom of all other Commanders he thought fittest for that charge, praying that the Lords there would advise him and Sir Henry Dockwra, to hold a good correspondency for her Majesties service, since hee conceived the warre was to bee chiefly made by their two joining together. For the Scots, that any number not exceeding foure thousand might in his conceit fitly be entertained, and left to the disposall of Sir Arthur Chichester, whose judgement upon the state of things there, was fittest to be followed, for hee could best chuse apt places to lodge them, till Sir Henry Dockwra and he might draw into the field, when those Scots should joyne with them, and would be of very great use to spoile, which is the best service can be done upon the Irish.

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Concluding that he had written to Sir Arthur Chichester, that he should send into England to him the Secretary, his opinion in this businesse, which (no doubt) hee would presently doe. But this project of appointing a Governour in Ulster, tooke no effect by reason that Tyrone with most of his Forces were defeated shortly after in Mounster.

Master Secretary at the same time had sent his Lordship spanish newes, which in this his answere he confessed were very likely, yet thought it would bee very hard for them to make ready foure thousand men more before Christmas. He signified that they here were all of opinion, that the necessity of the Spanish forces already in Ireland, being more then was expected, both by losse at Sea, and since their comming hither, and by the failing of the Irish hitherto to joine with them, their supplies would be hastened sooner then was determined: for so they were advertised by all the Prisoners taken, and by such as did come unto us from them. His Lordship acknowledged himselfe very much bound unto Master Secretary for the good dispatch he procured with this last passage, and not the least that her Majesty was pleased to allow of their entertainment of the Irish, yet beseeched him to beleieve that by this course they had prevented Tyrone of a great many men, that otherwise would and must have served him for entertainment, having no other meanes to live, and yet hitherto all was done within the compasse of the lyst, and the White Knight was one of them, that before the comming of this approbation was provided for, so carefull was hee to give him good contentment.

For their outcries in the Pale, he answered that he did not marvel, for by that which he had observed, he did judge that the word Pale had cost the Queen a million, & yet so il were they disposed, & so backward even in their own defence, as they now suffred Tyrone with a few horse, about the number of 60 to burne and prey them at his pleasure, though they were able of themselves to have [II. ii. 154.]

*The outcries
in the Pale.*

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1601.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Difficulties of
the siege of
Kinsale.*

beaten him and all his forces, and besides had the assistance of Companies in the Queenes pay, being three thousand or two thousand at least, yet if he would consider, that foure thousand Spaniards (for so the prisoner that we tooke delivered them to be upon his salvation, with whom all our prisoners relation and our intelligence did concurre) are possessed of a Towne ful of strong houses, and walled about, and helped with many advantages of ground, (though commanded by some places), hee might easily conceive, that it must bee no small army can force them, since our approches this winter were so difficult, that the very trenches we made were continually filled with water, and the decay of our men was so great, by continuall labour, sicknesse, sword, and bullet. And therefore we had no reason to keepe a great body of men in the Pale to guard it, till this dangerous war were finished. But to prevent this clamour of the Pale it was meerely impossible, though it would please her Majesty to keepe there ten thousand in her pay, when they would not stirre, nor raise the crie, but suffer themselves to bee so used, out of the malice of their owne hearts, that they might have some colour of complaint, being the worst sort of people in all the Kingdome, though he protested he had been as carefull of them, as if they had been his Kindred or speciall friends, knowing well their humor to be so clamerous.

*Her Majesties
expenses.*

For her Majesties expence, he besought him to beleieve, that no man did looke upon it with more griefe then himselfe, who reaped no commoditie by it, onely being a painefull and faithfull distributer thereof, according to the necessitie of her own service: but if he did not from his soule desire, and with all his wits and endeavour seeke to abridge it, and to end both her warre and charge, then he desired no mercy of God, nor favour from her. And if he were not bound thereto by his publike duty, yet he protested, that his private estate would urge him thereunto: which he found unable any longer to continue the expence, at which he was forced to live, growing greater by the mixed coyne, as hee ever thought it would

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fall very heavy upon him, by which reason he might value his entertainment to be lesse by the halfe, then it was in the time of the old standard. For whatsoever we bought with this new coyne, it was raised to the double price.

Whereas it seemed Master Secretarie had been informed, that all they which of late submitted themselves to her Majesties mercy and protection, were now againe revolted to the Rebels: he answered, that it was true, that some of them had made their peace with Tyrone, and in truth, except wee could have given order for their defence against him, he did never expect other from them, and especially since the arrivall of this forraigne force, hee did thinke none in Ireland so sure, but even here in Mounster they would do the like, if our Armie did not hang over them, yea, he was sure that the Lord President was of the same opinion. But hee was not moved to preserve any thing which the world (to his disadvantage) might call his, by neglecting that which he knew fittest to be preserved for her Majesty and her service. Touching these submitties while they were in rebellion, he did spoile waste and kill many of them, when they were received to mercy, he made many of them kill others in rebellion, and leese their lives for the Queenes service, and now they were againe revoulted hee doubted not, but either to ruine them againe, or to force them to submission, upon what conditions he listed, if God pleased to send us an happy end of this war with the forraigne enemy. For the atchievement whereof he hoped hee should heare (by the grace of the eternall God) that they would adventure as far, and in as good a fashion, as might be expected from this Army, upon the arrivall of the supplies of men and munition. Till when hee protested, that wee were at a stand, because that hee was most sure, that without good numbers of men, and store of al sorts of munition, this Towne so manned as it was, could not be forced.

He added, that hitherto (God be thanked) we had in all

*The submitties
revolted.*

*The siege at
a stand.*

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[II. ii. 155.]
*Sir Oliver St.
John's
bravery.*

*Lord Audley's
hurt.*

The Horse.

our endeavours prospered against this proud enemy, and that there never was Armie better disposed then this, nor Commanders that continually shewed more sound judgement & brave resolution then ours had done. In particular, that Sir Oliver S. Johns had had great honour given him by the whole Army, for that which he did in their sight, for he found no man come off from the skirmish (mentioned in the Journall) which spake not of what hee had extraordinarily performed with his owne hand, and that in a farre greater measure then was therein related. That at the same time the Lord Audley was hurt, fighting very gallantly, and if it should please her Majesty to take notice thereof, it would be a great comfort to them, and incouragement to the rest. That he hoped God would enable us shortly, to send him relations of better service. In the meane time and ever he praied the eternall God to preserve her Majesty and her Kingdomes, and send them her poore servants peace and quietnes.

He added that he could wish it had pleased her Majesty to have left the horse to his disposall, or at the least to have bestowed them on some Englishmen, for as 100 are conferred, though he held the Commander a worthy Gentleman, and faithfull to her Majesties service, yet he was Irish, and in short time would make those horse Irish, so as he accompted to have received onely one hundred to serve his purpose. For he did very much build on those horse, not onely to be his chiefe strength at this time, but to have stood hereafter when her Majesty did lessen the army, to bee imploied for the absolute finishing of this warre. And to this purpose now (in all likelihood) he should not be able to make use of them, which he confessed did not a little trouble him.

He added, that although there were but foure thousand Spaniards already landed, and they had no horse, yet there was no doubt but they would avayle themselves of great assistance in this Countrey, and that with a number much about this of naturall Spaniards, their King had made the long continued great warre in the Low-Countries.

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Besides, he besought him to remember, that about two hundred Spaniards held a Fort lately built at Croyden in Britany, till Sir John Norreis lost very neere one thousand five hundred men before it. That (God be thanked) we had plucked one hundred fifty Spaniards by the eares out of Rincorran, and wee hoped (by the grace of God) to doe the like by them in Kinsale, yet except God should please extraordinarily to worke for us, this was not likely to be done without great losse of men, and expence of all provisions to that purpose. For now they beganne to worke very hard about fortifying of the Towne, finding (as themselves said) that they had other men to deale with, then they expected; &c.

*Kinsale
fortified by the
Spaniards.*

The eight of November certaine ships to the number of thirteene, were discried to passe by Kinsale to the Westward, but it was not knowne whether they were English or Spaniards. The tenth day we had newes that the Earle of Thomond was landed with one thousand foote, left to the Lord Deputies disposall, and with an hundred horse, appointed in England to be commanded by the said Earle; and these were the thirteene ships discovered to passe Westward.

*Earle of
Thomond
landed with
1000. foote.*

By this time the Spaniards had gotten knowledge of the Lord Presidents departure from the Campe with good part of our forces, and thereupon supposing us to be much weakened, (as in deed we were, and inferiour in bodies of men to them in the Towne); they drew out this day about noone most part of their forces, and soone after sent some sixty shot and Pykes to the foot of the hill, close by our Campe, leaving their trenches very well lined for their seconds: some of ours were presently drawne out to entertaine skirmish with those that came up, and another strong party was sent out towards Ryncorran, who from the bushy hill plaid in flanckes upon their trenches, and did beate them from the same; so as they that were first sent out close to our Campe, being beaten backe by our shot, and thinking to find the seconds they left behind them, were disappointed by their

*Spaniards
beaten backe.*

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*Don Jean's
commandment.*

[II. ii. 156.]

*Captaine Soto
slaine.*

quitting of the Trenches, and by that meanes driven to follow the rest to the succour of the Towne. Our men following with much fury, hurt and killed divers, amongst whom they brought off the body of a Sergeant, and possessed the enemies trenches, the which the enemies (being reinforced) made many attempts to regaine, but were repulsed and beaten backe into the Towne. Wee heard by divers, that Don Jean committed the Sergeant Major, who commanded then in chiefe, presently after the fight, and threatned to take his head, commended highly the valour of our men, and cried shame upon the cowardise of his owne, who he said had beene the terrour of all Nations; but now had lost that reputation, and hee gave straight commandement upon paine of death, which hee caused to bee set up on the Towne gates, that from thenceforth no man should come off from any service, untill hee should be fetched off by his Officer, though his powder were spent or his Peece broken, but make good his place with his Sword. Captaine Soto one of their best Commanders, was that day slaine, (for whom they made very great mone), and some twenty more, besides those we hurt, which could not but be many. On our side, onely some ten were hurt, and three killed; among whom Master Hopton a Gentleman of the Lord Deputies band, was sore hurt, and in few daies died thereof. If this skirmish had not beene readily & resolutely answered on our part, the Spaniards had then discovered the smalnes of our numbers, and would no doubt have so plied us with continuall sallies; as we should hardly have beene able to continue the siege.

*Horse and foot
at Waterford.*

The eleventh day we had newes, that the one hundred horse and the thousand foot embarked at Bastable, (both which were left to the Lord Deputies disposall, the horse to be made new troopes, the foot to be dispersed for supplies, or to raise new Companies as his Lordship should thinke fit) were arrived at Waterford.

The twelfth day Sir Richard Levison Admirall of the Queenes Fleet sent into Ireland, and Sir Amias Preston

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Vice-Admirall, were arrived with tenne ships of warre at Corke, wherein we had two thousand foot all under Captaines appointed in England, besides other provisions of artillery and munition, and his Lordship directed the Admirall with all speed to bring the Fleet into the Harbour of Kinsale.

The thirteenth day his Lordship wrote to Master Secretary this following letter :

SIR hearing that our last packet is not yet gone from Corke, by reason of the contrariety of the wind, I have so good occasion to make this addition to our former dispatch, that I have received letters from my Lord of Thomond, S^r Anthony Cooke, and others from divers places, that all the supplies appointed for this Province, are safely arrived at Waterford, Yoghall, Corke, and Castle Haven, with no losse (that I can heare of) but of one victual, although the weather hath beene extreme tempestuous; and this last evening I was enformed but by a rumour, that the Queenes shippes were discovered about the Haven of Corke, whereupon I presently dispatched to Sir Richard Levyson to put into the Haven of Kinsale, for otherwise it would be long ere we shal be able to availe our selves of such artillery and munition as he brought for us. From my Lord President I heard, that the Rebels are drawne downe very strong, whereupon I have directed Sir Christopher S. Laurence, (that was comming to the Campe with most of the forces of the Pale) to repaire speedily to my Lord President, and I meane to send unto him all the Horse that is now come out of England, which I hope will be forces sufficient to stop any power the Rebels can make, specially since Tyrone (as I heare) himselfe will not be with them, except they doe steale by, which will be heard to prevent. If they come to force their passage, I am confident that against so many Horse as the Lord President shall have, they will never put themselves upon the plaine. For although they are as dangerous an enemy as any are in the

*Letter to
Master
Secretarie.*

*The Rebels
very strong.*

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*Good enter-
tainement for
the enemy.*

[II. ii. 157.]

*Mr. Hopton
hurt to death.*

World, when wee are driven to seeke them in their strength, or passe their fastnesse, yet are they the worst and weakest to force their owne way, either upon straights or plaines, so that except they steale their passage, (which I feare most) I make no doubt but my Lord President will give a very good accompt of them. We here in the Campe, since our last letters, have not had much to doe, only the enemy one day drew out (I thinke) most of this whole force, upon opinion that the greatest part of our Army was gone from us to meet the Rebels, & began a round fight with us, close to our trenches: but we entertained them so well, that we waited on them home, to the wals of the Towne, and made them leave some of their dead bodies behind them, although we saw them carry many off with them. They have made within lesse then Caliver shot of our trenches, very good fights, even from thence close to the Towne, so that our men did follow them with great disadvantage, yet we did beat them from one trench to another, til I had much adoe to make our souldiers come off. The greatest losse of our side fell to my share, for I had one of my Company killed, and a very gallant Gentleman that served in that Band, called Mr. Hopton, hurt (I feare) to death, and I think there was not above 2 or 3 more that were killed in the Campe over our heads, while wee were in the skirmish. Then we made them so good a Muster, that they have thought good to checke us no more, but within the Towne and without they doe worke very hard, and have raised Ravelings and Mounts, and wee on the contrary side keepe very good watch; for if wee should receive but one blow of the Spanish Fencer, all Ireland would take heart with it; & we have no great reason to be very secure, for beleeve me upon my Honor, I thinke the besieged are more in numbers, then we that are the besiegers at this time. They doe continually taste us, but they find us so well at our warde, that they still goe away with the vennies. And now, if the Queenes ships be come, we will cast at all, and I hope in God, ere

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it be long, winne a faire game for the Queene, whose money wee play. If any without consideration of the just circumstances of our present busines, to serve any private purpose, taxe mee for being too negligent of other parts of this Kingdom, and too large in my demands, I beseech you Sir to beleeeve, that I had good ground, both for my precipitate drawing hither, and for the provisions I have craved to strengthen my selfe by all meanes, while I am about this worke. For the first, it was not my opinion onely, but my Lord Presidents, that if I did not suddenly make head to this force, most of this Province would have revolted; and if wee had suffered the force of Spaine to have been Masters of the field but sixe dayes, as easily they might have been, if we had not fought well to prevent it, I assure my selfe, that al the Townes of this Province would have revolted, and the current of that fortune would have run so violently through all Ireland, that it would have been too late to have stopped it. For the second, the difficulties of a winters siege, in this Countrie (where by reason of the great numbers of the besieged, we are forced to keep strong and continual guards) will soone waste a greater Army then ours, if God doe not mightily blesse us: for the weather is so extreme, that many times we bring our Sentinels dead from the stations, and I protest even our chiefe Commanders (whose diligence I cannot but mightily commend) doe many of them looke like spirits, with toyle and watching, unto the which we are with good reason moved, since there be many examples, that where an enemy can sally out with two or three thousand men, they have defeated Armies, that have been trebble our number. But now besides these ordinary difficulties, which in al winter sieges doe waste, or make unprofitable the greatest part of an Army, when wee are to make our neerest approches to force them, we cannot doe it without great losse, for although the Towne be weake against the Canon, yet can we plant the Canon no where, but they have places that do absolutely command it, so that the towne is weak to

The difficulties of a winters siege.

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defend it self, yet exceeding strong to offend, which is the best part that art can adde to any fortification, and this is so well provided by nature, that from one hill they beat into any ground that wee can lodge in neere them. All these difficulties, and many more, I doe not alleage, as being any waies diffident of the great favour that God is determined to shew her Majestie in this action, but that you may in some measure guesse, that wee are not so improvident in her Majesties cause, as to require an army and charge of greater proportion then is fit for such a taske, the which when wee have performed with that happinesse, that I hope the eternall God will blesse us with all, I will then say and prove it unto you at large, A Domino factum est hoc, & mirabile est in oculis nostris. Sir, if I should write all unto you, that I have a desire to let you know, both for the publike and my private, I should not end my letter before the time that I hope we shall beate the Spaniards, but having been up most of this night, it groweth now about foure a clocke in the morning, at which time I lightly chuse to visit our Guards my selfe, and am now going about that businesse, in a morning as cold as a stone, and as darke as pitch, and I pray Sir think whether this be a life that I take much delight in, who heretofore in England, when I have had a suite to the Queene, could not lie in a tent in the Summer, nor watch at night till she had supped: but by God Sir, I will doe for Queene Elizabeth that which I will not doe for my selfe, and willingly, and be you my pledge that I will faithfully serve her against all the World, or any in the World, or else I beseech God now I am going out, that I may never returne alive to my House of Turffe, in the which I write this at her Majesties Campe before Kinsale; This thirteenth of November 1601.

*A harde life
in the field.*

[II. ii. 158.]

*Reinforce-
ments for the
Lord Deputy.*

The thirteenth day our Fleet recovered the mouth of Kinsale Harbour, but could not get in, the wind being strong against them. The foureteenth day the Fleete with much difficulty warped in, and recovered the Harbour, whence the Admirall and Vice-Admirall came to

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the Lord Deputy at the Campe. This night and the next day the two thousand foot, sent under Captaines in the Queenes shippes, were landed, and came to the Campe. And the fifteenth day in the afternoone, the Lord Deputy went aboard the shippes, whence returning to the Campe, the Enemy discerned him riding in the head of a troop of horse, and made a shot out of the Town at him, which grazed so neere him, that it did beat the earth in his face. In these ships were sent unto us not onely artillery and munition, but also speciall Officers to attend the same, as five Canoneers, two Blacke-smiths, two Wheele-wrights, and two Carpenters. This day the Lord Deputy was advertised, that according to his former direction, Sir Christopher St Laurence was come out of the Pale, and the Earle of Clanrickard out of Connaght, to the Lord Presidents campe, to whom his Lordship wrote, that if the Rebels should slip by him, he should be carefull to come up with his Forces to our campe, so as hee might arrive there to joine with us, before the Rebels came up so farre. The Queenes ships after they had saluted the Lord Deputy at his going aboard with thundering peales of Ordinance, had direction the next day to beat upon a Castle in the Iland, called Castle Nyparke, which the Lord Deputy was resolved to make his next worke, & to beat the Spaniards out of it, and so to invest the Towne on that side. This some of the ships performed, and brake the top of the Castle, but finding that they did it no greater hurt, and that the weather was extreame stormy, they ceased shooting. This day his Lordship gave direction, that the hundred horse & one thousand foot, which first landed at Castle Haven, and now were arrived from thence in the Harbour of Kinsale, should be conducted to Corke, to refresh themselves, for being beaten at Sea, and now landed in extreame weather, and in a Winter Campe, where they had no meanes to be refreshed, they beganne to die, and would have beene lost or made unserviceable, if this course had not beene taken to hearten them. This day and for many daies

*The Lord
Deputy's
narrow escape.*

*Castle
Nyparke
battered.*

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after, divers Spaniards ranne from the Towne to us, by whom we understood that in the tenth daies skirmish, the above named Captain Soto, a man of speciall accompt, was slaine.

*The day of
her Majesties
Coronation.*

The seventeenth day the weather continued stormy, so as neither that day nor the next we could land our Ordinance, or doe any thing of moment, yet because this was the day of her Majesties Coronation, which his Lordship purposed to solemnize with some extraordinary attempt, if the weather would have suffered us to looke abroad, wee sent at night when the storme was somewhat appeased, the Serjant Major and Captaine Bodley with some foure hundred foot, to discover the ground about Castle Nyparke, and to see whether it might be carried with the Pickaxe, which was accordingly attempted; but the engine we had gotten to defend our men, while they were to worke, being not so strong as it should have beene, they within the Castle having store of very great stones on the top, tumbled them downe so fast, as they broke it, so that our men returned with the losse of two men, & proceeded no further in that course.

*A Counsel of
Warre.*

The eighteenth day the Lord Deputy called a Counsel both of the Counsell of Ireland, and of al the Colonels and chiefe Officers of the field, and propounded to them, that since it had pleased her Majesty so graciously to supply us with the matter and provisions for the warre, it was our parts to advise of such a forme, as might bee most likely to bring forth an effect, not unworthy her Princely care. First our strength and meanes to attempt the place or continue the siege, were thorowly considered, and next the numbers and commodities of the enemy in the Towne, and of their succours abroad. The commodities and incommodities of proceeding with expedition, or by keeping them from all reliefe, were thorowly disputed, and in the end it was concluded, that the soundest course were to use all meanes to invest them as speedily as we might, by possessing our selves of al they held without the Towne, and next to mount our artillery

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in such places, where it might annoy them most, and by breaking downe their Houses, to expose them to the same extremities of cold and raine, as we were exposed to in the Campe, by which meanes they might be reduced to a greater weaknesse, and then be forced with much lesse hazard, since when it comes to the point of entering of a breach, there is little or no difference betweene a strong Towne and a weake, for the besieged in either, doe wholly trust to their new and sudden workes, which the enemy within had as good opportunity to doe in this place as in any other, and had yet (of our knowledge) so many hands to fight, as that the advantage would chiefly have beene his.

The nineteenth day a Demy Cannon was unshipped, as soone as it was calme, and placed on this side of the water, which plaied most part of the day upon the Castle Nyparke, being a great reliefe to the besieged, & brake many places, but made no breach that was assaultable. In the night they of the Towne attempted to releve the Castle by boates, but were repelled by Captaine Tolkerne and Captaine Ward, who lay with their Pinnaces betweene the Iland and the Towne.

*A Demy
Cannon
unshipped.*

Hitherto nothing could possibly bee attempted against the Towne, more then had beene done. For considering that the numbers of the defendants not onely equalled, but by all report, exceeded the number of the besiegers, (yea exceeded them farre, after the Lord President was sent from the Campe to meete Tyrone with two thousand one hundred foot and three hundred and twenty horse), and considering that if wee had undertaken the carrying of approaches, with a purpose to batter, the whole Army must either have been tired with watching night and day, without shelter, in tempestuous weather, or disgracefully have forsaken the worke, or (to say the best) incurred the hazard of fight in places of disadvantage, with an expert enemy. And considering that the Countrey stood upon such tickle tearmes, and so generally ill affected to our side, that almost the least blow, which in the doubtfull

*The number of
the defendants
exceeded the
number of the
besiegers.*

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*The Irish not
fit to make
good an
entrenched
campe.*

event of warre might have lighted upon us, would have driven them headlong into a generall revolt. And further, that our Army consisted for a third part (at the least) of Irish, who being not fit to make good an entrenched campe, & much lesse fit to give upon a breach, would without question, either presently have quitted us, or turned their weapons against us, if the Spaniards had had any hand over us; and considering that in al sound judgement, this little army, (which was to be the soule of that body that should oppose it selfe against these invaders and rebels), was by all possible meanes to bee preserved as much as might be, and not at all ventured, but with manifest assurance to prevaile. These things with other like circumstances considered, what could there be more done, during the time that we wanted our supplies and seconds? but to assure our Campe with carefull watches against sallies or surprises of the Enemy, and to invest them from succours or reliefe, not omitting in the meane time to provide whatsoever might be needfull, for the businesse in hand, the meeting with all inconveniences, and the taking of all advantages upon the Enemies guardes without the Towne; for which purpose divers skirmishes were made with very good successe on our part.

*The Lyst of
the Army at
Kinsale
20 November
1601.*

The Lyst of the Army at Kinsale the twentieth of November.

The foot of the Lyst the seven and twenty of October, are 6900.

The Companies drawne since that Lyst from other parts of the Kingdome to Kinsale Campe.

Sir Francis Rush 150. Captaine Masterson 150. Captaine Thomas Butler 100. Sir Richard Greame 100. Captaine Toby Cawfield 150. Sir Christopher S. Laurence 150. Sir Henry Harrington 100. Sir Samuell Bagnoll 150. Sir Edward Harbert 100. Sir William Warren 100. Sir Edward Fitzgarret 100. Sir Tybbot Dillon 100.

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Sir Garret Moore 100. Captaine Lyonell Guest 150. *The Lyst of the Army at Kinsale*
Captaine Malby 150. The Earle of Clanrickard 150. 20 November
Sir Thomas Bourke 150. Captaine Clare 150. Captaine 1601.
Thomas Bourke 100. Captaine Laurence Esmond 150.
Sir George Boucher 100. Foot 2650.

Companies sent in the Queenes ships under [II. ii. 160.]
Captaines, viz.

Captaine Sheffeild, 100. Captaine Norton, 100. Cap-
taine Henry Fortescue, 100. Captaine Bret, 100. Cap-
taine Lower, 100. Captaine Chatterton, 100. Captaine
Dorington, 100. Captaine Crompton, 100. Captaine
Gilbert, 100. Captaine Wade, 100. Sir Anthonie Cooke,
150. Sir Alexander Glifford, 150. Captaine Lane, 100.
Captaine Wadnol, 100. Captaine Blundel, 100. Captaine
May, 100. Captaine Wynn, 100. Captaine Kenricke,
100. Captaine Butler, 100. Foote 2000.

Of the one thousand foote landed at Castle-haven with
the Earle of Thomond, and the one thousand foote landed
at Waterford with Sir Anthony Cooke, having no Cap-
taines, but being left to the Lord Deputies disposall, one
thousand three hundred fifty were distributed among the
Captaines, to supply the deficient numbers in their severall
Companies, and the rest were divided into these following
Companies increasing the Lyst.

Sir Garret Harvy, 150. Captaine Henrie Barkeley,
150. Captaine Roberts, 150. Captaine Boyse, 100.
Captaine Henslo for Pioners, 100. Foote 650.

Totall of foote, 12200.

Hereof in the old list taken out for a dead Company
kept for the Earle of Desmond, 100.

Take now out absent Sir George Thornton in Garrison
at Kilmallock, Capt. Gawen Harvy in Garrison at
Limricke, and Captaine Trever (reckoned before, but not
comming hither, who staid about the Newry, as I
remember,) 300.

So the Totall of foote is 11800.

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*The Lyst of
the Army at
Kinsale
20 November
1601.*

Of these not distributed into Regiments.

For attendance of the Munition, Sir George Bourcher, Master of the Ordinance, 100. For Pioners, Captaine Hensloe, 100. Foote, 200.

Foote distributed into eleven Regiments under command of the Lord Deputy, Lord President, and nine Colonels.

Under the Lord Deputie commanded by his Lieutenant Sir Benjamin Berry, 1400. Under the Lord President, 1100. Under the Earle of Clanrickard, 1000. Under the Earle of Thomond, 1000. Under the Lord Audley, 900. Sir Richard Percy, 950. Sir Richard Moryson, 1100. Sir Charles Willmot, 1000. Sir Oliver Saint Johns, 1050. Sir Henry Follyot, 1050. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, 1050. Foote, 11600.

Total of foote, 11800.

Out of these Regiments was raised a squadron volante (or flying Regiment) which onely was to answere Alarums, and to be freed of al watches, and to the same Sir Henrie Power was appointed Colonel, and Captaine Bostock his Lieutenant. The severall Companies of this squadron are these.

Out of the Lord Deputies Regiment, Sir Richard Wingfield Marshall, 150. Sir John Barkeley Serjeant Major, 200.

Out of the Lord Presidents Regiment, Captaine Saxey, 100.

Out of the Lord Audleys Regiment, the Treasurers Lieutenant, 100.

Out of Sir Charles Willmots Regiment, Captaine Nuse, 100.

Out of Sir Henry Follyots Regiment, Captaine Josias Bodley, 150.

Out of Sir Oliver Saint Johns Regiment, Captaine Bostock, 100.

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Out of the Earle of Clanrickards Regiment, Captaine Laurence Esmond, 150.
Foote 1050.

*The Lyst of
the Army at
Kinsale
20 November
1601.*

Horse in the Army at Kinsale.

Take out of the List made the seven and twenty of October, Sir Edward Harbert, 12 : and Captaine George Greame twelve, and thirtie of Master Marshals (otherwise imployed, and now absent from the Campe), and the whole Lyst is five hundred fiftie seven.

Horse called since that time from other parts in the Kingdome to the Campe at Kinsale. [II. ii. 161.]

The Earle of Kildare, 50. Sir Oliver Lambert, 25. Sir Garret More, 25. Horse, 100.

Horse newly sent over and landed at Castle-haven, and at Waterford.

The Lord President added to his troope, 50. The Earle of Thomond a troope newly erected, 100. Sir William Godolphin (who commanded the Lord Deputies troope) had newly erected to his owne use, 50. Horse, 200.

Totall of horse, 857.

The twentieth of November his Lordship understood by letters from the Lords in England, that one thousand foote and fiftie horse were sent, and already shipped for Loughfoyle. The same day the demy-Cannon planted the day before, did againe batter Castle Nyparke, together with another Cannon this day landed, and planted by it : and with some Ordinance also out of the ships, though they served to small purpose. About noone one hundred men were sent with Captaine Yorke and Captaine Smith, to view the breach, and though they found it not assaultable, yet the Spaniards within being no longer able to indure the furie of the shot, hung out a signe of parly upon the first shew of those men, and offered to yeeld

*Castle
Nyparke
battered.*

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*The Castle
yeelded.*

themselves and the Castle, upon promise of their lives onely, which being accepted, they were brought presently to the Campe, being in number sixteene that were left alive.

Before the Castle was yeelded, the Spaniards in the Towne made divers shot at Captaine Tolkernes Pinnacle with a piece of Ordinance which they mounted a day or two before close to the Gate of the Towne, but did no hurt at all unto the Pinnacle, the same warping neerer to the other side under the hill, and at last riding safely without danger of the shot.

*A platforme
made betweene
the Towne and
the Campe.*

The same day a platforme was made upon a ground of advantage, being a strong Rath, betweene the Towne and the Camp, that commanded one part of the Towne, that under the favour thereof, we might the better make our neerer approches, though at that time we could hardly worke, by reason of the extreame frost, and a demi Cannon was mounted upon it, with which some shot were made at the Towne. A sentinell taken in the evening affirmed, that the first piece shot off, went through the house in which Don Jean lay, and did otherwise great hurt. The one and twentieth the prisoners taken in Castle Nyparke, and some runawaies, were sent to Corke, with directions to the Maior, to send them and the former prisoners by the first ship into England, keeping (of them) still at Corke onely the Serjeant Major (taken in skirmish), and the two Commanders of the Castles of Rincorran and Nyparke. This day the Cannon and demi-Cannon, planted upon the platforme, did play into the Towne. And this day the Lord Deputy went over into the Iland, to view how from thence the Towne might be best annoied and invested. And the Spaniards this day put out of the towne great numbers of Irish women, and children, which came to the Campe, and were suffered to passe into the Countrie to their friends.

*Irish women
and children
put out of
the Campe.*

The two and twentieth day, one James Grace an Irishman, obtaining the Lord Deputies Protection, escaped out of the Towne, and gave his Lordship this intelligence

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following. Six Irish Gentlemen horsemen came into the towne of Kinsale on Sunday the fifteenth of November, and one Owen Conde came the same day, and they are all readie to goe out againe, and Father Archer with them, to put out the Countrie, if the Bishop will suffer him. Don Jean sayes privately, that the Lord Deputy was borne in a happy hower, for he will have the Towne, unlesse they be relieved from the North. They have nothing but ruske and water. They have but foure pieces of Artillery, one small piece is at the Churchyard, one great and a small in James Meaghens Garden, and the other biggest of all is at the Watergate, to play upon the shipping, and all foure are mounted. The Spaniards were five thousand by report at their setting out from Spaine, they landed at Kinsale three thousand five hundred, they are yet 3000, there are two hundred sicke and hurt in the hospitals, they lost 100 at Rincorran, and 17 and a boy at Castle Nyparke. They had nine slaine when they offered to relieve the Castle, and five when Captaine Soto was slaine. They had foure and thirty Colours abroad when they shot into the Lord Deputies Campe, and that was all they had, and they had then two pieces, a great and a small, and that day all the Townesmen were put out at the Gates, that they might doe no hurt with the Munition. They fill the old Abbey at the West gate with earth, that they may mount a great piece there, which they make account wil command the ground where the English battery is planted at the North Gate, where the Mount is raised, yet it is not likely they will mount any Ordinance there, but rather keep it as a hold. They have store of powder and munition, which lies at John Fitz Edmonds Castle, but they meane to remove it presently, and put it in a seller within the towne. Their treasure lies at the house where Captaine Bostock lay. They are much affraid the Lord Deputie will place some Ordinance at Castle Nyparke, or thereabouts, which will much annoy them: but most of all they feare the placing of it at a place neere the water side (where some were sent to seeke rods, not farre from

*Intelligence
out of the
Towne.*

*The Spaniards
losses.*

[II. ii. 162.]

*Store of
powder and
munition.*

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*Don Jean lies
at Phillip
Roches.*

the place where the skirmish was, when they sallyed), for which cause they raised their mount, but especially filled up the old Abbey, from whence it is best commanded. Don Jean lies at Phillip Roches. A shot made from the English on Friday at night, hit the house where Don Jean lay. The Townesmen will stay no longer there, for feare of the shot, and then the Spaniards will be in great distresse. One went from Don Jean to Tyrone about nine daies agoe to hasten his comming, the man was blind of one eye.

*The County of
Clare to be
reunited to the
Province of
Mounster.*

The same day the Lord Deputy received from her Majestie direction, that forasmuch as the County of Clare was of ancient time within the Governement or precinct of the Province of Mounster, untill of late it was annexed to the Province of Connaght, which her Majestie understood was upon some untrue surmise made by Commissioners for Connaght, to the grievance and dislike of her subjects of that Countie. That the Lord Deputie and the Counsell there, should speedily consider of this information, and if they found it not evidently an hinderance to her service, then they speedily should give order, that by revocation of the former Commissioners and letters Patents for governement of these severall Provinces, and by granting new Commissioners of like authoritie and effect, and by all other wayes requisite in Law, the said Countie of Clare should bee reunited and annexed unto the Province of Mounster, and be reduced under the order and governement of the Lord President and Councill of Mounster, which her Majestie was perswaded would bee for the advancement of her service, and the good liking of her loving subjects in those parts.

*A Captaine
of the
Spaniards
killed.*

The same two and twentieth day foure Pieces were planted by the Cannon and demy Cannon, which altogether played into the Towne, one of which shot killed foure men in the Market place, and strucke off a Captaines leg, called Don John de Saint John, who after died of that hurt, we likewise planted three Culverings in the Iland beyond the water, in which the foresaid Castle Nypark

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stands, and from whence we heard, that Don John feared annoiance.

The three and twentieth these did beate upon the old Towne with good effect. And the same day our other sixe Pieces on the North-East side plaied upon the Towne, and so continued till night, in which time (in all mens judgements, and by report of the prisoners we tooke) they did great hurt to the Towne. This day while the Lord Deputie, the Marshall and Serjeant Major were viewing the ground where the approches were intended, a private souldier of Sir John Barkleys, in their sight, and in face of the Spanish guards, attempting to steale a Spanish sentenel (as hee had stolne divers before) this sentenel being seconded by foure, that he saw not, he fought with them all five, whereof one was the Serjeant Major, whom he had almost taken; and when he found he could doe no good upon them all, he came off without other hurt, then the cutting of his hand a little, with the breaking of a thrust, which one of them made at him, and he hurt the Serjeant Major.

*A private
souldier fights
with five
Spaniards.*

The night following, we began certaine neere approches [II. ii. 163.] on the North-East side of the Towne on a hill, which by the naturall situation thereof, was free from sudden sallies, by reason of a Valley betweene it and the Towne, so as it might bee speedily seconded from the Campe. There with much expedition was raised a Fort (and Artillery planted, to play into the Towne), which with three or foure Companies was easily gardable; for in this businesse there seemed nothing more to bee respected, then how to approach and infest the enemy in such sort, as neither our old, nor our new men might be overspent, or over-harried with watches and works (the time of the yeere and extremitie of the weather considered) nor the enemy might take any advantage to surprise our works by their sallying, without ingaging themselves in fight with our whole Army. For making those approches, the Lord Deputy drew out one thousand foote, continuing the worke all night; and although the ground were extreme hard, by

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reason of the Frost, and the night very light, yet that night they brought the worke to very good perfection. The enemy played all the night upon them with great volleys, but hurt onely three men, either in the trenches, or in divers sallies they made (in the one whereof a squadron of our new men did beat them back to the Gates.)

*O donnell
stolen by the
Lord
President.*

This day the Lord President advertised, that O donnell, by advantage of a Frost (so great as seldome had been seene in Ireland), had passed a Mountaine, and so had stolne by him into Mounster, whereupon he purposed to returne with the forces hee had, to strengthen the Campe. And in the evening Sir Richard Levison, by the Lord Deputies direction, drew the Admirall and Vice-Admirall in betweene the Iland and Kinsale, whence the foure and twentieth day they shot into the Towne.

The five and twentieth day all the Artillery still played upon the Towne: but the shot from the ships doing little hurt, save onely upon the base Towne, the Lord Deputie gave direction to spend few shot more, except it were on the high Towne. This night direction was given to make a platforme for the Artillery upon the trenches, which was made the three and twentieth at night. Somewhat after midnight the Spaniards made a sudden salley, with purpose to force the trench, but were soone beaten backe by Sir Francis Barkeley, who commanded the watch that night in that place.

*The Lord
President's
Regiments to
be led against
Odonnell.*

The sixe and twentieth the Lord President with the two Regiments of foote, and with his horse he had led out against Odonnell, together with a Connaght Regiment under the Earle of Clanrickard, and a Regiment of the Pale under Sir Christopher Saint Laurence (which upon the way were commanded to joyne with the Lord President), came to the Campe; and these foure Regiments were that night quartered by themselves, upon the West-side of Kinsale, to invest the Towne more closely, and to keepe Odonnell and the Spaniards from joyning together, which quarter or lesser Campe was commanded by the Earle of Thomond: for the Lord President

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remained ever neere the Lord Deputy in the great Campe, and so did the Earle of Clanrickard. This day the three Culverings were brought from the Iland beyond the water on the East-side, and were planted on a hill, in a point of land neere the water on this side of the Haven, lying to the East of our Fort newly built there, to which hill the Towne lay neere and very open. In the meane time the Spaniards from the Towne, played upon our ships with a Demy-Cannon, and shot our Admirall twise, and our Vice-admirall once, while they rode (as aforesaid) close by the Towne, but our ships within few shot exchanged, did dismount their Demi-Cannon, so as they could make no more shot with it, and at the same shot hurt their chiefe Gunner.

*The Spaniards
play upon
the ships.*

The seven and twentieth day betimes in the morning, our three pieces planted the day before on the point of the hill neere the water side, played upon the Towne, and did great hurt to the enemy, by reason they were planted so neere the Towne, but the eight and twentieth day falling out extreame windie and rainy, wee were enforced to cease our battery, and spent the rest of the day in drawing downe to that place, some other pieces, formerly planted upon the first platforme.

The foresaid eight and twenty in the morning, we sent a Trumpet to summon Kinsale, who was not suffered to enter the Towne, but received his answer at the gate, that they held the Town first for Christ, and next for the King of Spaine, and so would defend it Contra tanti. Upon his returne with this answer, the Lord Deputy commanded to make battery with all our Artillery, (planted all on the East side of the Towne), which was presently performed, and continuing till towards night, brake downe great part of the East gate. In the meane time the Spaniards being retired in great numbers into their trenches on the West side, to escape the fury of our Ordinance on the East side, Sir Christopher S. Laurence was commanded to draw out from our new Campe, on the West side, and to give upon them in their

[II. ii. 164.]

*Kinsale
summoned.*

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*Sir
Christopher
S. Laurence
beats the
Spaniards.*

trenches, which he performed, and did beat them out of the Trenches, following them to the very gates of the Towne, killing many, and hurting more of them, and so returned without losse of a man on our side, having onely some few hurt. The nine & twentieth all our Artillery plaied upon the Town, and brake downe most part of the Easterne gate, and some part of a new worke the Enemy had made before the gate. This day two Spaniards wrote from Kinsale to some of their friends prisoners in our Campe, whom they stiled poore Souldiers, when we knew them to be men of accompt, and withall sent them such money as they wanted, yet under the title of Almes, as if they had neither mony of their owne, nor were of credit to be trusted for any.

*Sir Richard
Wingfield's
skirmish.*

The last day of November Sir Richard Wingfield the Marshall tooke some fifty shot, and went to the wall of the Towne, to view the fittest place for us to make a breach, the Spaniards made a light skirmish with them, and hurt some few. The Marshall when he had well viewed the wall, drew the shot off, and judging the wall, close to the Easterne gate on the right hand, to be fittest for the making of a breach, he gave present order that our artillery should beat upon that place, which was done without intermission, and therewith we brake downe before night a great part of the wall, which the Enemy in the night attempted to make up againe, but was beaten from it by our Guards, who plaied upon them with small shot most part of the night. In the evening a Spaniard ranne away from Kinsale to our campe, who reported to the Lord Deputy that our Artillery had killed divers Capitaines and Officers in the Towne, besides many private souldiers.

The first of December it was resolved in Counsell of State and by the Counsell of Warre, (namely the chiefe Commanders and Colonels) that some foote should bee drawne out of the campe, to give the Spaniard a bravado, and to view if the breach we had made were assaultable, and also to cause the Spaniards to shew themselves, that

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our Artillery might the better play upon them. To this purpose two thousand foot, commanded by Sir John Barkeley the Sergiant Major, and Captaine Edward Blany, were presently put in Armes, and drawne neere the walls of the Towne, who entertained a very hot skirmish with the Spaniards, who were lodged in a trench close to the breach without the Towne. During this skirmish, our Artillery plaied upon those that shewed themselves, either in the breach or in the trench, and killed many of them, besides such as were killed and hurt by our small shot.

Among the rest one Captaine Moryson a Spaniard, (of whom as one of the pledges upon the composition, we shal have cause to speake hereafter) walked crosse the breach, animating his men, and though S^r Richard Wingfield our Marshall caused many both great and smal shot to be made at him, with promise of 20 pound to him that should hit him, or beat him off, (whereupon many great shot did beat the durt in his face, and stones about his eares); yet all the skirmish he continued walking in this brave manner, without receiving any hurt. Many thinke them best souldiers, who are often and dangerously hurt, but it is an errour: for wounds are badges of honour, yet may befall the coward assoone as the valiant man; and I have knowne most adventurous men who never received wound. Pardon this my digression, not warrantable in a journall, I will onely adde, that brave souldiers (for the starres have a kinde of power in our birth) are by some secret influence preserved, when others intruding themselves into that course of life, or driven to it by necessity of estate, fall at the first allarum: And to speake theologically, God preserves us, but stil in our waies, so as he who without calling rushes into another way then his own, hath no warrant of divine protection. After an howers fight, when we had taken full view of the breach, and found it not assaultable, our men were drawne off, with little or no dammage on our part, onely three of our men were hurt, and Captaine Guests Horse was

*Captaine
Moryson,
a brave
Spaniard.*

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killed under him, which Captaine first had killed two Spaniards with his owne hand.

*Another Fort
planted.*

The same day it was resolved in counsell, to plant a Fort on a Rath on the West side of the Towne, to lodge therein some foote, for seconds to the guard of our artillery, intended to be planted neere the same. And to this purpose, in the night following, the Marshall, the Sergiant Major, Captaine Edward Blany, and Captaine Josias Bodley Trenchmaster, (the Lord Deputy being almost all night present with them), drew out five and twenty of each company, and intrenching themselves on the said hill, not halfe Callivers shot from the Towne, beganne to cast up a small Fort. And though the Spaniards perceived not their purpose, yet many of them lying in a trench they possessed close to the West gate, did play very hotly all night on our men, guarding the Pyoners, and ours did no lesse on them, so that divers were hurt and killed on both sides. But the second day of December, about nine in the morning, when a great myst beganne to breake, and they discovered our worke a yard high, then from the said Trenches, and more from the Castles, and high places in the Towne, they plied us all the day with small shot. Notwithstanding which annoyance, our men brought the work to very good perfection before night. In the meane time, a Serjeant to Captaine Blany, drew out some seven or eight shot, and suddenly fell into a Trench which some Spaniards possessed, close by the Towne, of whom the Serjeant killed two, and each of the rest one, with their owne hands. But when not content therewith, they attempted another Trench, something distant from the first, the Serjeant in going on was shot through the body, and two of his Company were hurt in bringing him off, and so returned with this and no more losse.

*The night
watches.*

This night the Trenches where the Cannon was planted on the East side of the Towne, were manned with the Lord Deputies guard, (commanded by Captaine James Blount) with Sir Thomas Bourkes Company and Sir

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Benjamin Berries company, (both commanded by their Lieftenants), by Captaine Rotherams company, (commanded by himselfe) by Captaine Hobbies company (commanded by himselfe) Captaine Nuses (commanded by his Lieftenant) and by Captaine Roger Harvy his company, (himselfe commanding in chiefe as Captaine of the watch there that night, for as every Colonell watched each third night, so every Captaine watched in one place or other each second night). Also this night the Fort on the West side neere the Towne, betweene the two Campes, which was cast up the day before, was manned by Captaine Flower (commanding in chiefe) and his company by Captaine Spencer and his company, by Captaine Dillon and his company, and by the companies of Sir Arthur Savage, Sir John Dowdall, Captain Master-son, and Sir William Warren, (commanded by their Liefetenants) together with certaine squadrons out of the Earle of Thomonds quarter in our second campe, which stood in guard without the Trenches. Now within an hower after night, and some two houres before the Moone rose, it being very darke and rainy, the Spaniard impatient of the Forts building, the day before so close to the Townes West gate, and resolving to attempt bravely on our Ordinance, planted on the East side, made a brave sally with some two thousand men, and first gave slightly towards the Trenches on the West side, but presently with a grosse and their chiefe strength fell upon the Trenches, in which the Artillery lay on the East side, continuing their resolution to force it with exceeding fury, having brought with them Toolles of divers sorts, to pull downe the Gabbyons and the Trenches, as also Spykes, to cloy the Ordinance. The allarum being taken in the campe, the Marshall and Serjeant Major, Sir Richard Moryson, Sir William Fortescue, Sir Francis Rushe, and Captaine Roe, sallied presently with some sixe hundred men towards the Cannon, and Sir Benjamin Berry with some one hundred men fell directly towards the Port of the Towne next to the Campe, and the Lord

*A brave sally
by the
Spaniards.*

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Deputy sent out Sir Oliver Saint Johns with seconds. Upon the Marshals arrivall and charge, the enemy brake, and our men did execution upon them. Sir Benjamin Berry fell directly upon the enemies seconds, whom he charged and brake, killing many of them, and taking the Commander of that body, being an ancient Captaine, of great estimation with the enemy. At the same time the enemy gave upon our trenches and Fort built the day before on the West side, and continued the attempt long with great fury, till Captaine Flower in heate and without direction, sallying out of the Fort, to follow part of their forces discomfited, the enemy entered the Fort before he could returne, and possessed themselves of our trenches. Yet still our men continued the fight, and Sir William Godolphin gave many brave charges with his horse, to countenance our men, till the Earle of Clanrickard was sent to second them on this part, with Captaine Skipwith, Captaine Clare, Captaine Boise, Captaine Thomas Bourke, and some threescore men (for the rest of the Regiment was not advanced so farre.) Then his Lordship and the rest charged the enemies grosse, being without the Fort, and brake them, and did execution upon them falling towards the towne, and so returning thence, entred the West Fort again, with little resistance, for the enemy abandoned it. This Fort his L^y. and his Company made good, till he was relieved from the Lord Deputie. In this salley in all the enemy left in the field above one hundred and twenty dead bodies, besides such as were killed neere the Towne, and could not next day bee discerned by us. And wee tooke thirteene prisoners, among whom was a Captaine Reformedo (as they terme them, for honour of antiquitie) who was taken by Henslo, Captaine of our Pioners, and a Serjeant, and a Drumme. After we heard by some of the Towne, that they left dead above two hundred of their best men, among whom were two Captaines, two Alferoes, and the Serjeant Major (being the second Commander to Don Jean), and Don Carloes, and that more

*The enemy
enter the
Fort.*

*The enemy
abandon the
Fort.*

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then two hundred of them were hurt. On our part Captaine Flower, Captaine Skipwith, and the Earle of Clanrickards Lieutenant were hurt, and Captaine Spencer, and Captaine Dillon, and Captaine Flowers Lieutenant, were killed in the West Fort, who staying in the Fort when Captaine Flower sallied, were there found dead in the place which they were commanded to make good, and with their faces to the enemy, in as honourable manner as could be expected from any souldier. The enemy sallying on our Fort guarding our Cannon, cloyed a demy-culvering of ours, which being a little crased, was left without the Fort, but the next morning it was made serviceable againe. Some of them were killed upon the cannon, and upon the powder, and the trenches about the cannon were in some places filled with dead bodies; for in that particular attempt they left seventy two bodies dead in the place, and those of their best men, whereof some were found having spikes and hammers to cloy the cannon. And in generall among the dead bodies many were found to have spels, characters, and hallowed meddals, which they woare as preservations against death, and most of them when they were stripped, were seene to have scarres of Venus warfare. Wee tooke some fortie shovels, and as many mattocks, and much Armes, left in the field, which tooles were so massie, as they had great advantage of us therein, and the sight of them would have put her Majesties Ministers of the Ordinance to shame, who for private gaine sent sale ware to us, unfit to be used. In defending this fort of the cannon, Captaine Rotheram and James Blount Ensigne, woon great reputation by their valour, and the courage they gave to others. Because the Earle of Clanrickards Company had watched the night before this, Sir Henry Follyot was sent with his Regiment to guard the Western fort till morning.

*The Lord
Deputy's
losses.*

*The
Spaniards
losses.*

Some hower before this skirmish, the Lord Deputie was advertised by one Donnogh O Driscoll, that six Spanish ships were put into Castle Haven, and that six more were sent with them from the Groyne, but in the

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*Six Spanish
ships arrived.*

[II. ii. 167.]

way were scattered from these by tempest, and that since it was not knowne what became of them. That in these six ships arrived, were two thousand Spaniards, with great store of Ordinance and Munitiōn, and that by their report twentie thousand more were comming presently after them. The third of December, by reason of rany weather, nothing could be done, onely upon relation of a French runaway, that the enemy purposed to sally againe, some of our men were for a short time drawne to Armes, but in vaine.

*Our camp
to be
strengthened.*

The fourth day we received a confirmation of the Spaniards arrival at Castlehaven, wherupon it was resolved in Counsel, that our first camp should be more strongly fortified, and that al our horse should be drawne into it, and that the quarter or lesser camp on the West side (consisting now onely of three Regiments, namely, of the Earle of Thomond, Sir Richard Percy, and Sir Christopher Saint Laurence) should rise and sit downe farther off, towards the South-gate, having another Regiment added to strengthen it, drawne out of the first campe on the North side of the Towne, where the Lord Deputy lodged, the lot whereof fell to Sir Charles Wilmott. That our trenches and Fort on the East side for the guarding of the cannon, should be committed to the continuall guard of Captaine Blany, and our Fort at the West gate to Captaine Ghest. And that our battery should cease, till those stormes of new Spanish supplies and the Irish Rebels drawing neere were over.

*A Drumme
sent to the
Towne.*

A Drumme was sent to the Towne, to offer Don Jean liberty to bury his dead, which message he received with due respect, but prayed us to burie them, with promise to do the like for any of ours happening to fall in his power. And because our Drum, according to his direction, expostulated with Don Jean, that howsoever the Spanish prisoners were well used by us, yet his Lordship heard, that one of our men taken in the last salley, after he was hurt, so long as he gave himselfe out to be an Irish man, was kept in the hospitall, but after being

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discovered to be an Englishman, was drawne out, and killed. For this cause Don Jean sent backe with him a Spanish Drum to the Lord Deputy, intreating buriall for his dead, with the foresaid promise to doe the like for ours; and for the expostulation, denying any such thing done to his knowledge, with protestation to punish it highly, if hee could discover any such thing to have been done. The first, his Lordship promised to doe, as a Christianlike act, though he knew the inequality of the offer, having so many of their bodies presently in his power. For the second, his Lordship rested satisfied, yet his L^p. did further expostulate with the Drum, that upon our summons of the Towne, after martiall manner, they were not content to returne a resolute answer, but added scandalous words, terming us meschini. To which he answered, protesting that the speech was ill delivered by an harquebuzier, who undertooke to interpret it, but could not doe it rightly. His Lordship also excepted to a kind of challenge sent by Don Jean, that the question betweene England and Spaine should be tried by combat betweene them two, this triall being in neither of their powers by commission, nor in Don Jeans will, though hee had the power, besides that the Councell of Trent forbad the Romanists to fight in Campo Steccato (or combat in the field) so as this message was rather quarelsome then honourable, which otherwise his Lordship protested to bee most willing to accept, with thankses for the noble offer. Lastly, his Lordship remembred, that at our first setting downe, he sent a Drum to Don Jean, with this message; That whereas his Lordship understood certaine Ladies and women to bee in the Towne, he offered them before the playing of our Artillerie free leave to depart, or remaining there still, to command any provision for themselves which our campe afforded. And that Don Jean made an uncivill answer, That he would not be his Baud. To these exceptions hee answered with a Spanish shrug of the shouldier, as having no knowledge nor commission, to satisfie his Lordship therein. So his

*A kind of
challenge
sent by
Don Jean.*

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Lordship protested, that all the courtesie offered hitherto by him, proceeded out of that honourable respect which useth to passe betweene honourable enemies, and because he would ever be true to his owne Honour, whatsoever others were to theirs. But in case it were conceived to proceede of any respect of the greatnes or power of the Spanish Nation, or his owne feare, that he would hereafter shew how much he disdained such ill interpretations of courtesie. And so his Lordship dismissed the Drum.

[II. ii. 168.] This night the Spaniards attempted something by boats against our Sentinels, but were soone beaten backe againe. The fifth day Sir Richard Levison, though the wind hindered the going out of Kinsale Harbour, yet with towing, got out the Warspite, the Defiance, the Swiftsure, the Marline, one Merchant, and a Carvill, and with them went to seeke the Spanish Fleete newly arrived at Castlehaven.

The same day the foure Regiments above named, did remove to the new camping place, as was determined the day before.

*The Spanish
ships sunke at
Castle haven.*

The sixth day at ten in the morning, our Fleete arrived at Castle haven, and before foure in the after-noone one Spanish ship was sunke, the Spanish Admirall with nine foote water in hold drove to the shore upon the rocks, the Vice-admirall with two others drove likewise aground, most of the Spaniards quitting their ships. Our Fleete was forced to stay there the next day by contrary winds, and the Spaniards having landed some Ordinance, plaied upon our ships all the day, but the night following they warped out, and the day after returned to Kinsale.

*A Scottish
Barke
surrenders
fourscore
Spaniards.*

The sixt day likewise, a Scottish Barke bringing soldiers from Spaine, and being one of the Fleet newly arived at Castlehaven, but severed from them at sea by storme, came into the Harbour of Kinsale, and put the Spaniards, being fourescore, into our hands, who were brought to the campe, and examined before the Lord Deputie. David High of Lieth, Master and Owner of the Unicoorne examined, said upon oath: That he went

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*The ship
master
examined.*

from Waterford sixe weekes agoe with goods of Waterford for Rochel, and so for Burdeaux, but was driven through foule weather and a leake into the Groyne, where within an hower after hee was at Anchor, his ship was arrested, and himselfe taken by the Governour called Conde, but after they had unladen the Barke, and taken away the sailes, he was set at libertie. That Siriago with a part of the Spanish Fleete sent for Ireland, was then there, and ready to embarke againe for Ireland, having about one thousand foure hundred land souldiers, placed in nine ships, whereof this examine was one, the Admirall in which Syriago was, being a Netherlander of one hundred fifty tunne, or thereabout, the Vice-admirall a Flemming of one hundred twenty tunne, or thereabouts, beside three French ships, and three Scots, and a Fliboat. That they have great provisions of Powder, Pioners tooles, and twelve or 41 great Pieces mounted for the field. That the seven and twentieth of the last, they set saile at Groine, and had their directions (as farre as this examine understands) for Kinsale. That before their departure from the Groyne, one Jordan Roche of Kinsale, bound for Burdeaux, and from thence for South-Spaine, comming to an anchor at the Groyne, was there taken, and forced in the Kings name to be a Pilot on this coast, his ship being sent on her voiage; by whom they understood, that the Castles of Ryncoran and Nyparke were taken, which hee heard also by the report of a French man hee met at sea. That aboard his ship there was imbarked about fourescore Spaniards, and five or sixe women, about five and twentie tunne of Bread, and sixe Butts of wine, whereof the most part was spent in beverage: but other munitions then the souldiers weapons they brought none aboard. That Brittingdona is at Lisbone, ready to transport two thousand souldiers more for Ireland, so soone as hee can get shipping. That Don Diego de Brochero in his returne for Ireland, landed at Lisbone, and from thence posted to the Court, and after his arrivall, a present dispatch was made, to hasten these

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supplies for Ireland. That in Spaine they make no doubt but Ireland is already won, and from thence the common bruite is, they will for England, then for Scotland, and after will set upon the Turk. That the fifth of December, they made the land betweene Corke and Kinsale, and the winde being scant, turned all that day and night to come in, and by seven of the clocke this morning came into the Harbour, and at opening of the day perceived our Fleete, which by the Spaniards was conceived to be their Fleete: but by him (as he saith) knowne to bee her Majesties, and that of purpose hee came to put the Spaniards into our hands. That before his ship came to anchor, hee got a boat, and discovered to Sir Amyas Preston the Spaniards hee had aboard. Whereupon Sir Amyas Preston manned out his boates, and towed in the ship, whereunto the Spaniards made no resistance. Lastlie, that he heard at the Groyne, that the Adilantado, being then at Port Saint Marie, did daily expect the comming of foure thousand Italians, but for what purpose hee knew not.

[II. ii. 169.]

*The Spaniards
examined.*

The Spaniards then examined on oath, said, That there is in the Fleete with Siriago not above one thousand, divers of them taken out of the Gaoles, and very poore and naked, whereof one whole Companie of Portingals was taken out of prison. That the Admirall is laden with Bisket, Powder, and Match, and two cannons for battery. That the whole Fleete consists of tenne saile, whereof the Admirall and Vice-admirall are hulkes of three hundred tonnes, as they esteemed them, the rest small barkes of divers Nations. That Siriago commands the Fleete, and Captaine Alonzo del Campo commands the foote in chiefe, being a Captaine of the Terceres, who hath an old Company, and Savedra hath another old Company, but is himself a young souldier. That they heard nothing that Kinsale was besieged. That Brittendona was at Lisbone, and that they were gathering supplies, but knew not if they will be ready before the Spring or no. That the Adilantado was in South-Spaine, and

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that a Regiment of three thousand Italians was to come for Ireland. That the whole Fleete was bound for Kinsale, and they thought the Queenes Fleete was their ships of Spaine. That all the shipping was to be gathered together at Lisbone, against the Spring, and foure thousand Italians were comming for England.

This sixth day of December, all the Ordinance was drawne from the Easterne and Western platformes, into the first Camp on the Northside of the Towne, where the Lord Deputy lodged, that we might the better attend the service of the field, having our Artillery commodiously placed, since we were advertised, that Odonnel was joyned with those Spaniards which landed lately at Castle-Haven, and that hee, together with Tyrone, assisted by all the Rebels force in Ireland, were drawing up towards Kinsale to relieve it, and were come within few miles of the campe. Of all these newes the Spaniards in Kinsale had knowledge, and thereupon tooke heart againe, when they were otherwise ready to yeeld upon reasonable composition. For this respect, it was thought enough for us to keepe the ground we held, against all these enemies, till wee should be further supplied out of England, since upon the least defeate or disaster befalling us, the whole Kingdome would have been hazarded (if not lost), by reason of the peoples inclination to a generall revolt.

We fortified the foresaid campe on the West (or South-West) side, where the Earle of Thomond lay with foure Regiments, and it was resolved, that two smal forts should be cast up, and manned, betweene that campe and the water side Southward (the said forts and campos, each one flancking the other), thereby so to invest the Towne, as all succour from the countrie might be cut off from it. Further it was resolved, that the ditches of the Lord Deputies campe should bee deepned, and the trenches highthned, and that the backe part furthest from the Towne, lying open hitherto should now bee closed, and made defensable against Tyrones forces, as the side towards the Towne was made against

*Ordinance
drawne into
the first
Camp.*

*The campe
on the West
fortified.*

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the Spaniards, if they both at one time should give upon us. And that all the Forts should be barricadoed, and by all possible art all the accesses to the towne betweene our two campe be stopped.

*Alarums of
Tyrones
purpose.*

The seventh day the Lord Deputy advertised Master Secretary in England, of all these particulars, adding that we daily heard very hot Alarums of Tyrones purpose, to relieve the Towne, who strengthened with the above named forces, was now lodged in Woods, and in accessable strengths, very neere to our campe, so as hee hindered us from forage for our horse, and from the helpes wee formerly had out of the country, for sustentation of our Army. And that his neighbourhood on the one side, and the Spaniards in Kinsale on the other, kept us at a bay, from proceeding in our aproches and battery. Besides that our last supplies were in this short time incredibly wasted, the new men dying by dozens each night, through the hardnes of the winter siege, whereunto they were not inured. Yet his Lordship still made good his first hope of victory, though it were deferred, and that which hee thought to have attempted with safety to the State, and ease to the Army, was now to be done with hazard to the State (inseperable from great actions) and greater painefulnes to the souldier (to bee indured with patience.)

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The eight day our Artillery was placed in the severall places of our North side Campe, for the best defence thereof, and a Fort on the West side by the other Campe, (according to the above mentioned resolution) was cast up, & almost finished, where towards night we had a slight skirmish with the Spaniards, in which we had an Ancient and some few men hurt. In the evening the Rebels Horse were discovered, about two miles off, and after supper all our men were drawne into Armes, upon notice given us by the scouts, that the Rebels drew nigh, but after a small time, all saving the watch were dismissed to rest.

*Tyrones
Forces shew
themselves.*

This night Sir Richard Levyson returned from Castle Haven, with the Queenes ships into the Harbour of

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Kinsale, and came to the Campe, to give the Lord Deputy accompt of the good service done there. The nine ten and eleven daies, we spent in building the two Sconces, (or Forts) as was formerly resolved in the sixth daies Counsell. They were built on the West side of the Towne, betweene the Earle of Thomonds quarter and the water Southward, and to invest the Towne round about, we cast up trenches betweene the Forts and the Earle of Thomonds quarter, being thirty score in length, the Forts and the Campe flancking each other, and we cast up Trenches from that side to the Lord Deputies Campe, to stop the passage of Cowes, Horses, or any reliefe to the Towne. The Spaniards made two or three light sallies to view our works on the West side, as they did likewise the twelfth day, but they were beaten back with ease, and no losse on our part. The thirteenth day we drew three peeces of Artillery from the Lord Deputies campe, and planted them on the West side neere the other campe, to play upon an Abby, which flancked that part where wee intended to make a new breach. The same day the Spaniards taken in the Scots ship, were sent for England.

*Two Sconces
built.*

And Sir Oliver S. Johns was dispatched for England, and by him the Lord Deputy and the Counsell wrote this following Letter to the Lords in England.

*Sir Oliver
S. Johns
dispatched for
England.*

IT may please your Lordships: How we have proceeded in the great businesse wee have in hand here, since our last dispatch unto your Lordships of the seventh of the last moneth, wee have thought fit to set downe by way of journall inclosed, humbly praying leave to referre your Lordships thereunto, to avoid needlesse repetition; and if the services we have hitherto performed, shall happily fall short of that which your Lordships in this time have expected, and our selves (wee acknowledge) hoped, wee have made collection of the sundry difficulties and oppositions that we have incountred, since the first newes of these Spaniards discovery upon this Coast, to the end it might appeare unto your Lordships plainly

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the Lord
Deputy to
the Lords in
England.*

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by the view thereof, (as wee are confident it will), that nothing hath beene wanting in our endeavours, to bring this worke to the desired conclusion, but that a more slow proceeding hath beene inavoydably occasioned, by the slow and untimely comming to us of those meanes and provisions, without which it is impossible to be effectually active, and the arising of new accidents and impediments in the meane time, which made our worke more difficult, and therefore will not (we hope) be imputed any fault of ours. Since the arrivall of the Queenes shippes, the forces, artillery, and other provisions out of England, we have so annoied this Towne with battery in all parts thereof, as the breach was almost assaultable, and the Houses in the Towne much beaten downe, to the great weakening of the defendants, in so much as we were not without hope to be offered it by composition, or within a little more time to have entered it by force, though that was held a course of much hazard and losse, in regard they within are very strong in bodies of men, which we know to be most certaine. The Spaniard finding how hardly he was laid to, importuned Tyrone and Odonnell with their forces to come to releev him, they both are accordingly come, and encamped not farre from the Towne. And now one thousand more Spaniards are arrived at Castle Haven, with great store of munition & artillery, and report that a greater force is comming after, which doth so bewitch this people, as we make accompt all the Countrey will now goe out, as most of them have done already, as in our former letters we signified that we feared. Odonnells forces are said to be foure thousand, and to be joined with the Spaniards that landed at Castle Haven, and Tyrones (as we heare generally) to be as many more, and since his passage through the Countrey hither, Tyrrell with many other Lemster Rebels, (as it is said) are joined with him, and comming also hither. By these meanes wee are induced to leave our battery for a time, and to strengthen our Campes, that we may be able to indure all their fury,

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as wee hope we shall, and keepe the Towne still besieged, and so invested, as wee are not out of hope in the end to carry it, notwithstanding all that they can doe. Yet since it is now most apparent, that the King of Spaine meanes to make this place the seate of the Warre, not onely for the gaining of this Kingdome, but from time to time to push for England, if he should get this, (for so some that we have taken and examined, doe confesse), and that the whole strength of the Irish are drawne and drawing hither, to set up their rest, to get that liberty (as they call it) that they have so long fought for. We must earnestly intreat your Lordships to supply us, and that speedily, of all things necessary for so great a Warre, as this is like to be. We hold it a matter of necessity that foure thousand foote more be sent us presently, without staying one for another to come together, but as they can be levied and shipped away, and we desire good choice may be made both of the Men and Armes, for in both the last were much defective, those under Captaines were but ill bodies of men, and the supplies had very ill armes and weapons: Wee conceive it will be fittest for the service, that I the Deputy have liberty to put so many of them under Captaines, as cannot at the first bee used for supplies, for though our chiefe meaning is to fill up the bands already here, if so many be wanting at their comming hither, that her Majesty may not unnecessarily be charged with new bands, when the old be not full, but much deficient, yet a great part of our companies being extreame sicke, through the exceeding misery of this Winters siege, (so as at this present there is but one third part of the last men that came over serviceable, and able to doe duties, whereof happily a great part may recover), it cannot therefore be determined, untill they be here, what number will bee necessary for supplies, and what companies fit to bee raised, for that must grow out of a view here of such as continue still sicke, or are growne deficient by death, or running away, whereof of late there are very many,

*Ireland the
seate of
Warre for
the gaining
of Great
Britaine.*

*Misery of
the Winter's
siege.*

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notwithstanding the severe courses we have taken, by executing some for a terrour to the rest, by making Proclamations upon paine of death, that none should depart the campe without licence, by giving direction to the Port Townes that they should be staied and apprehended: and lastly, by sending speciall men to Corke, Yoghall, Waterford, and Wexford, to see the same duly put in execution, for which purpose they have commission for martiall law, all which is well knowne to every private man in the campe, and yet they steale away daily in such numbers, as besides those that by devises doe get passages, there are at this present taken betweene this and Waterford, at the least two hundred ready to be returned; though we confesse the misery they indure is such, as justly deserveth some compassion, for divers times some are found dead, standing centinell, or being upon their guard, that when they went thither were very well and lusty, so grievous is a Winters siege, in such a Countrey: For the sicke and hurt men we have taken the best course we can devise, for at Corke we have provided a guesthouse for them, where they are most carefully looked unto, and have their lendings delivered in money, to buy them what the market doth affoord, with an increase of what is held fit for them, allowed out of the surplusage of the entertainment for the Preachers and Cannoneers, (which we conceive your Lordships have heretofore heard of). And for those that are sicke or sickely at the campe, because we much desire to keepe them well (if it were possible), we take this course. First their owne meanes is allowed them very duly, Sir Robert Gardner being appointed a Commissioner for that purpose, that the souldier in all things may have his right, with proclamation that whosoever found him selfe in any want, should repaire to him; and secondly, out of a generall contribution from the Officers and Captaines of the Army, there is fifty pound a weeke collected for them, and bestowed in providing warme broth, meate, and lodging, so as a marvellous great number are thereby releevd.

*A guesthouse
for the sicke
and hurt.*

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And yet all this doth not serve, but that a great many are still unserviceable which we have here noted at the greater length, that it might appeare unto your Lordships that it proceeds not from want of care or providence in us, but from keeping the field in such a season, where humane wit cannot prevent their decay. We must further earnestly intreat your Lordships, that the Fleete may remaine upon this Coast during the warre with the Spaniards, and to furnish us with victuals, munition and money, for Easterly winds are rare at this time of the yeere, and without every of these, this action cannot bee maintained, but that the Army will breake, and come to nothing. Neither will this Countrey now afford us any thing, no not so much as meat for our Horses; and therefore wee must likewise bee humble suters, that two thousand quarters of Oates may speedily be sent us, without which undoubtedly our Horses will be starved. The particulars of our wants, both of munition and victuals, are set downe by the Master of the Ordinance, and the Victualer for this Province, and we have made choice of Sir Oliver S. Johns, to sollicite your Lordships for a speedy and favourable dispatch, as also to give satisfaction in all things wherein it may please your Lordships to require a more particular information, in regard he is well acquainted with all things that have passed here, otherwise as we were unwilling to have spared him, so wee found him very unwilling to leave the service at this time, had not I the Deputy enjoined him to undertake this businesse, knowing hee could best satisfie your Lordships in any particular that you might doubt off. Wee have also held it very fit, humbly to signifie to your Lordships, that where wee heard from the Counsell of Dublyn, and otherwise, of her Majesties purpose to send some Scots, that it would now very much advance the service, for if foure thousand Scots (which we thinke a convenient number) might speedily be landed there, to joine with the English at Loughfoyle and Carick-fergus, while Tyrone keepes here with the Forces of that

2000.
*Quarters
of Oates
desired.*

*The worth of
the Scots.*

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*Bretandona
conducts the
Enemies
Fleet.*

*Sir Richard
Levison's fleet
stayed.*

Countrey, they would no doubt in short time make so great a spoile there, as hee should never be able to subsist, to maintaine a warre any more, and a great part both of the English forces & of them, after having swept those Countries bare, which they might quickly doe, might draw hither to our assistance, with great part of the prey, which would abundantly releevē both them and us with victuall, and so stop the passages behind him, as hee should never bee able to returne; but that the warre both of Spaine and Ireland might have an end together here, whereof wee cannot but wish your Lordships to have due consideration, and humbly pray you to excuse us, for making thus farre bold, which nothing should have led us unto, but zeale and affection to the service. Lastly, whereas the Enemies Fleet at Lysbone, under the conduct of Bretandona, is (by intelligence from Spaine) assuredly intended for these parts, to bring supplies to Kinsale within a moneth or sixe weekes: And whereas we find the great importance of this service depending on the countenance of her Majesties Fleet, to have the same with us as well to guard the Harbour and repell the enemies landing, as also to guard our Magazines of munition and victuals, which must be kept in ships, we having no other conveniency to keepe them: We have made humbly bold to stay the Fleet commanded by Sir Richard Levison, and doe in like sort beseech your Lordships to victuall them for three moneths longer, with all possible speed; for they are now victualled onely till the twentieth of January. And because so great a quantity of victuals as will serve them for that time, can hardly be so soone provided; we humbly desire that this supply of their victuals may be sent unto them in parts, as it can be made ready: And because this Fleet, by the opinion of the best experienced in Sea services, (whom we for our parts doe beleevē), must necessarily be divided, and yet is too small to serve in two parts, we humbly pray that some such addition of ships, as in your wisdoms shal be thought meet, may be sent hither, to forbid the

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enemy to plant in other places, as Baltimore and Berre Haven, where it is very probable they meane to plant: by which division of the Fleet better service may be expected, then otherwise can possibly be performed. For it is no doubt, but many opportunities will be offered to fight with the Enemy, which otherwise cannot be looked for. This wee humbly submit to your Lordships [II. ii. 173.] favourable consideration, not forgetting (as earnestly as wee may) to recommend to your Lordships good favour Sir Richard Levison, Admirall of this Fleete, who hath shewed himselfe a most worthy Gentleman, both in performing of that service upon the Spanish ships at Castlehaven (which in our Journall is expressed), as also in being himselfe painefull, carefull, wise, and valiant in the whole course of all affaires, which your Lordships committed to his charge, and that in such measure, as we thinke a more sufficient and gallant Gentleman could not have beene chosen for such an imployment. And so wee most humbly take leave, &c.

*Sir Richard
Levison
recommended
to the Lords
in England.*

By the same dispatch the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to Master Secretary in England.

Sir, I know that all great actions are accompanied with many difficulties, neither are they strange to me, that have put on a minde to indure any thing for such a Mistresse, in such a quarrell. And with chearefulnesse shall I suffer the extremitie of hardnesse, and adventure, if it shal please her Majesty so graciously to interpret our labours, as to beleewe (as it is true) that our difficulties arise out of themselves, and not from any defect of our Counsels or endeavors. For my selfe, I protest that I doe faithfully propound unto my selfe, whatsoever I presume are her Majesties chiefe ends, to make a speedy, safe, and honourable conclusion of this warre, which to no private man would be more unsupportable then to my selfe, were I not upheld by my dutie and affection to her service. I doe conceive that it is apparant, that the King of Spaine is resolved to make a powerfull warre

*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to
Master
Secretary.*

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*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to
Master
Secretary.*

with England, and that he hath chosen this Countrie to be the seate thereof, where we that are her Majesties Ministers here, must either marre, or give way to this foundation. If he bee resolved to send continuall supplies, and to fortifie in severall places, the warre is likely to grow long and difficult. For first, it is hard to force a warlike Nation out of any strength, without great numbers, royall provisions, and long time, and how hard our supplies of either, can bee spared, or sent in time so farre, I feare the estate doth already feele too much. The necessitie of making head to an enemy (who having the hearts of all this people, shal have all their helpes, if they durst), doth draw our Army to indure all the incommodities of a miserable Winters siege, wherein, without all prevention, the greatest part of our strength will decay, before we be readie (in our chiefe designe of forcing the Towne) to use it. And if otherwise we should use in this worke more then advised haste, we might easily hazard the losse of this Kingdome; for little disasters to us will bee conceived overthrowes, and beleieve Sir, that nothing contains even the best of this Countrie inhabitants, but the prosperitie and reputation of our Army; so that, although it may please God to enable us to cut off the thread of this warre, sooner then wee see reason to presume of, yet because we have just reason to expect a growing enemy, and in so great a cause, it must please her Majestie, either to bend and maintaine her Royall power this way, or by some attempt in his owne Countries, to divert his purpose for this; for otherwise if he persist in his purpose for Ireland, if he once grow of power to breake the bankes of our opposition, he will suddenly (and not by degrees) overflow all. Hitherto it hath pleased God to prosper us, in all we have undertaken, or hath been undertaken against us; wee have wonne whatsoever the enemy was possessed off without the Towne; we have taken above two hundred Spanish prisoners; there are (as wee are certainly enformed) above one thousand dead and killed

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Deputy's
letter to
Master
Secretary.*

of them in the Towne, the which we have now as throughly invested as may be: but on the other side the whole force of Tyrone and Odonnell, with all the strength of the Rebels of Ireland, do lie within sixe miles of us, and to their assistance they have the Spanish supplyes, and (that which is worst) their munition and provisions; the whole Province either is joyned with them, or stand neutrals; and what use soever the enemie maketh of them, I am sure wee receive by them no manner of assistance. Notwithstanding all this, I hope wee shall give a good account of the besieged; but wee have reason to proceede with great caution, having a desperate enemie before us, and so manie that are ingaged in the same fortune behind us. For Tyrone and O Donnell have quit their owne Countries, to recover them here, or else to loose all. Now Sir, to enable us in this great warre, you must continually supply us with munition and victuals. It is true, how incredible soever you thinke it, that of two thousand men you send us, you must account that we make use of little more then five hundred, and yet wee can well justifie, that there is nothing omitted that humane wit can provide, for the preservation of such as we have. I have (much against his will and my owne) sent over Sir Oliver Saint Johns, because I presume he can satisfie you in many things, which by writing we can hardly doe. Once more I thought good to remember you, that I protest before the eternall God, that it grieveth me to see her Majesty so ill served in her Musters, from the abuses whereof (as I have done heretofore) I do utterly disclaime, as not being in my power to reforme; for all the Ministers in that kind, are but ciphers or false numbers, and it is beyond my power to discend into every particular care, in such an active time, wherein I spend all my meditations in making onely of the warre, and wherein how much of the weight of every mans burthen doth lie upon my shoulders, I doe better feelee, then I can expresse, or make you beleieve. I will discontinue the consideration of any

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*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to
Master
Secretary.*

thing that belongs to my owne private, and have now onely desired this bearer to negotiate for mee as a publike person, and of publike matter, and I beseech God to send mee the height of my ambition, which is, with the conscience of having done her Majestie the service I desire, to enjoy a quiet, private life, and that her Majestie may never more have need of men of our profession.

Yours Sir most assured
to doe you service
Mountjoy.

The foureteenth day was so rainy, and so tempestious in winds, as wee could not stirre out, to proceede any thing in our businesses. The fifteenth our Artillerie, planted by the Campe on the West-side, did play upon the toppes of the Castles in the Towne, where the enemies shot were placed, that from thence they might annoy our men, working in the trenches, and in the platforme, and attending our Artillerie. Our pieces brake downe many of these Castles, and killed many of their shot lodged in them. Likewise in the night, while our men were making new approches, our Ordinance plaied upon the Towne, and many volleys of small shot were exchanged betweene us and the enemy.

The sixteenth day the same Ordinance plaied in like sort upon the Castles in the Towne, and did much hurt to the men there lodged. The seventeenth day was very tempestious with raine, and especially wind, and so continued all night, for which cause our Artillery plaied but seldom upon the towne. And this night the Spaniards sallyed, and brake downe a platforme, which we had begun the day before, with purpose to plant our Artillery there; whereupon a slight skirmish fell betweene us and them, but with little or no hurt on either side. The eighteenth day our Artillerie continued to play upon the Towne. And this day his Lordship intercepted this following letter, which he commanded me to translate out of Spanish into English.

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To the Prince O neale, and Lord O Donnell.

I Thought your Excellencies would have come at Don Ricardo his going, since hee had order from you to say, that upon the Spaniards comming to you (from Castle-Haven), you would doe me that favour. And so I beseech you now you will doe it, and come as speedily and well appointed as may bee. For I assure you, that the enemies are tired, and are very few, and they cannot guard the third part of their trenches, which shall not availe them, for resisting their first furie, all is ended. The manner of your comming, your Excellencies know better to take there, then I to give it here; for I will give them well to doe this way, being alwaies watching to give the blow all that I can, and with some resolution, that your Excellencies fighting as they doe alwaies, I hope in God the victorie shall be ours without doubt, because the cause is his. And I more desire the victory for the interest of your Excellencies, then my owne. And so there is nothing to be done, but to bring your squadrons, come well appointed and close withall, and being mingled with the enemies, their Forts wil doe as much harme to them, as to us. I commend my selfe to Don Ricardo. The Lord keepe your Excellencies. From Kinsale the eight and twentieth (the new stile, being the eighteenth after the old stile) of December, 1601.

*Don Jean del
Aguyla's
letter to
O neale and
O Donnell.*

[II. ii. 175.]

Though you be not well fitted, I beseech your Excellencies to dislodge, and come toward the enemy, for expedition imports. It is needfull that we all be on horsebacke at once, and the greater haste the better.

Signed by Don Jean del Aguyla.

The nineteenth day was so extreme rainy, as we could doe little or nothing. The twentieth in the morning being very faire, our Ordinance plaied, and brake downe good part of the wall of the Towne. And to the end we might sharpen Tyrone (whose lying so neere did more

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*Great
lightning and
thunder.*

annoy us, by keeping reliefe from us, then hee was like to hurt us by any attempt); or if Tyrones force came not up sooner, that wee might proceede more roundly, this day another great breach was made beneath the Platforme, and though many shot were made to hinder us, yet by the next morning the worke was brought to good perfection. The night was stormy, with great lightning and terrible thunder, to the wonder of all, considering the season of the yeere, and this night came certaine intelligence, that Tyrone, drawne on by Don Jeans importunity, determined presently to set up his rest for the reliefe of the Towne, and that the next night he would lodge within a mile and halfe of our Campe.

*Tyrone shewes
himselſe horse
and foote.*

The one and twentieth our scouts confirmed the same, and towards night Tyrone shewed himselfe with all his horse and foote, upon a hill within a mile of us, in the way to Corke. Whereupon two Regiments of our foote, and most of our horse being drawne out of the Campe, made towards them: but when they saw our men resolutely come forward, they fell back to a Fastnesse of wood and water, where they encamped.

This night being light with continuall flashings of lightning, the Spaniards sallied againe, and gave upon a trench, newly made beneath our Canon, but were the sooner repelled, because wee kept very strong Guards, and every man was ready to be in Armes, by reason of Tyrones being so neere unto us.

The two and twentieth Tyrones horse and foote often shewed themselves from an Hill, beyond which they incamped in a Wood, yet our Artillery still plaied upon the Towne, breaking downe the Wall, and some Turrets, from whence the Spaniards shot annoyed our men. Many intelligences confirmed, that Tyrone on the one side, and the Spaniards on the other, had a purpose to force our Campe.

*The Spaniards
sally.*

This night the Spaniards sallied, and gave upon a trench close to the West-side of the Towne, which the Serjeant that kept it did quit: but Sir Christopher Saint

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Laurence appointed to second him, came up with some foote, and did beat the Spaniards into the Towne, before they could doe any great hurt, save onely a little defacing it. Our Artillery still plaied upon the Towne, that they might see wee went on with our businesse, as if wee cared not for Tyrones comming, but it was withall carried on in such a fashion, as wee had no meaning to make a breach, because wee thought it not fit to offer to enter, and so put all to hazard, untill wee might better discover what Tyrone meant to doe, whose strength was assured to bee very great, and wee found by letters of Don Jeans, which wee had intercepted, that hee had advised Tyrone to set upon our Camps, telling him that it could not bee chosen, but our men were much decayed by the Winters siege, and so, that wee should hardly bee able to maintaine so much ground, as wee had taken when our strength was greater, if wee were well put to, on the one side by them, and on the other side by him, which hee would not faile for his part to doe resolutely. And it was most true, that our men dailie died by dozens, so as the sicke and runnawaies considered, wee were growne as weake as at our first setting downe, before our supplies of foure thousand foote.

*Don Jean's
advice.*

[II. ii. 176.]

The strength of our Regiments the three and twentieth of December.

The Lord Deputies Regiment had able men, 715. The Lord Presidents Regiment able men, 556. The Earle of Clanrickards Regiment able men, 529. The Earle of Thomonds Regiment, 572. The Lord Audley his Regiment, 370. Sir Richard Percies Regiment, 544. Sir Richard Morysons Regiment, 541. Sir Oliver Saint Johns his Regiment, 515. Sir Charles Wilmotts Regiment, 454. Sir Henry Follyots Regiment, 595. Sir Christopher Saint Laurences Regiment of Irish, 747. Sir Henrie Powers Squadron volant (or flying Regiment) drawne out of the former Regiments, after the making of the Lyst in November last, 449.

*The strength
of our
Regiments.*

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The Totall of Foote able men besides runawaies, and hurt, and sicke, lying aswell in the Campe, as at Corke, 6595.

*Tyrone
resolves to
assayle our
Campe.*

This evening one of the chiefe Commanders in Tyrones Army, having some obligations to the Lord President, sent a messenger to him for a bottle of Usquebagh, and by a letter wished him, that the English Army should that night bee well upon their guard, for Tyrone meant to give upon one Campe, and the Spaniards upon the other, meaning to spare no mans life but the Lord Deputies and his. Don Jean de l' Aguila after confessed to the Lord President, that notwithstanding our sentinels, he and Tyrone the night following, had three messengers the one from the other. All the night was cleare with lightning (as in the former nights were great lightnings with thunder) to the astonishment of many, in respect of the season of the yeere. And I have heard by many horsemen of good credit, and namely by Captaine Pike-man, Cornet to the Lord Deputies troope, a Gentleman of good estimation in the Army, that this night our horsemen set to watch, to their seeming did see Lampes burne at the points of their staves or speares in the midst of these lightning flashes. Tyrones guides missed the way, so as hee came not up to our Campe by night, as the Spaniards ready in Armes howerly expected, but earely about the breake of the next day.

The foure and twentieth of December, some halfe hower before day, the Lord Deputie in his house sitting at Counsell with the Lord President and Master Marshall, as thinking the intended enterprise of the enemye by some accident to bee broken, suddenly one of the Lord Presidents horsemen called him at the dore, and told him, that Tyrones Army was come up very neere to our Campe. And Sir Richard Greame, having the Scout that night, when hee discovered that Tyrone with his forces was on foote marching towards the Campe, presently advertised the Lord Deputy thereof, and his Lordship being alwaies in readinesse to intertaine them

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(seldome going to bed by night), and at this time (as I said) setting in Counsell, when he heard that they were advanced within three quarters of a mile to our Campe, caused all our men to draw into Armes in the quarter, and himselfe with the Marshall attending him, advanced towards our scouts, whence he sent the Marshall Sir Richard Wingfeild, to take view of the enemy, and hee brought him word, that they were in the same place formerly advertised. Upon his returne the Lord Deputie left for defence of the great Campe on the Northside, his Lordships owne Regiment, under his Lieutenant Sir Benjamin Berry, the Lord Presidents Regiment (who was in his Lordships absence to command both Camps in chiefe), the Earle of Clanrickards Regiment the Lord Audlie his Regiment, and Sir Richard Moryson his Regiment. This done, the Lord Deputie sent a Corporall of the field unto our lesser Campe (or quarter) commanded by the Earle of Thomond, and gave order there for disposing the foure Regiments of the Earle of Thomond, Sir Richard Percy, Sir Charles Wilmot, and Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, and directed how to set all the Companies in their severall guards. In former notes I finde Sir Richard Percies Regiment quartered in the Earle of Thomonds Campe, but here I find it reckoned [II. ii. 177.] among them of the greater Campe, and the Earle of Clanrickards Regiment in this lesser Campe, whereof I remember not the certaintie, but am sure, howsoever they had been changed, that the Regiments for number, were at this time thus disposed in the two Campes. By this time the Marshall, with some foure hundred horse, and Sir Henrie Powers Regiment (being to answer Alarums, and so drawne out at this time, as they had been for three nights before on like occasion) was advanced within twenty score of the enemy, the ground rising so high betweene them and our men, as they could not see one the other.

*The defeat
of Tyrones
forces.*

It was now the breake of day, whereas mid-night was the time appointed for the Rebels to meete with Don

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Jeans forces, the Spaniard being to set upon our lesser Campe (or the Earle of Thomonds Quarter), and Tyrrell leading the Rebels Vantguard (in which were the Spaniards lately landed at Castle-Haven), and Tyrone leading their Battaile, and O Donnell their Reare, being all to set upon our chiefe Campe, conceiving themselves of sufficient strength to force both our Campes at one instant, and to make no great worke of it.

The Lord Deputy, with the Lord President in his company, being come up to our forces, led out against Tyrone, and resolving there to give him battaile, commanded Sir John Barkeley Serjeant Major to draw out of the Campe the two Regiments of Sir Oliver Saint Johns and Sir Henry Follyot. Upon their comming up, the enemy finding us resolved to fight, retyred himselfe over a Foard, and the Marshall seeing them disordered in their retrait, sent word thereof by Sir Froncis Rush to the Lord Deputie, desiring leave to fight, and his Lordship by Sir Samuel Bagnol gave him leave to order that service according as hee in his discretion, should find the disposition of the enemie, and therewith sent backe Sir George Carew Lord President with three troopes of horse, to the great Campe, to command both Camps in chiefe, and to make head against the Spaniards, if they should sally out of the Towne.

*The Spaniards
contained
themselves in
Kinsale.*

But the Spaniards still expecting the comming up of the Rebels, according to their mutuall project, and never imagining that wee with our small forces, could draw out sufficient bands to meete and beate the Rebels, contained themselves within the towne walles, till (as by the sequell shall appeare) their sallies could little profit them.

After the said message sent to the Marshall, presently the Earle of Clanrickard came up and exceedingly importuned the Marshall to fight. Whereupon the Marshall drew a Squadron of foote with their Drumme to the Foard, and willed Sir Richard Greames with his horse to march directly to the Foard. Then the enemy retired hastily with horse and foote over

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a boggy ground to firme land, hoping to keepe that boggie passage against us. Then the Marshall directed Sir Henry Davers (commanding the horse under him), with his horse, and Sir Henrie Power with his Regiment of foot to advance, who presently came over the foresaid Foard unto him. The Lord Deputy being upon the hill with two Regiments of foote, commanded the Serjeant Major there attending him, to second our men with those foote. So the Marshall having the Earle of Clanrickard, and Sir Henrie Davers with him, advanced with some hundred horse, and began with a hundred Harqubusiers (led by Lieutenant Cowel a valiant Gentleman marked by a red cap he wore, to be a special instrument in this fight) to give occasion of skirmish on the Bog side, which the rebels with some loose shot entertained, their three Batallions standing firme on the one side of the Bog, and our Fort on the other side. In this skirmish our foot were put up hard to our horse, which the Marshall perceiving, put forth more shot, which made the Rebels retire towards their Battaile. Then the Marshall finding a way through a Foard, to the ground where the Rebels stood, he possessed the same with some foote, and presently he passed over with the Earle of Clanrickard, Sir Richard Greames, Captaine Taffe, and Captaine Fleming, and their horse, and offered to charge one of the Rebels Battailes of one thousand eight hundred men: but finding them stand firme, our horse wheeled about. Now Sir Henrie Davers with the rest of the horse, Sir William Godolphin with the Lord Deputies, and Captaine Minshall with the Lord Presidents troopes (kept by the Lord Deputie to answere all accidents), and our Serjeant Major with two Regiments (sent by the Lord Deputy to second the Regiment of Sir Henrie Power, being with the Marshall,) came all up, whereupon the Marshall with the horse charged home upon the Reare of the Battaile, and the Irish not used to fight in plaine ground, and something amazed with the blowing up of a Gun-powder bagge (they having upon the like fright

*The foote
advance.*

[II. ii. 178.]

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*The Irish
broken.*

defeated the English of old at Blackwater), but most discouraged to see their horse flie (being all Chiefes of Septs and Gentlemen, to the number of five or sixe hundred), were suddenly routed, and our men followed the execution. The other two Battailes that stood stil, now finding this routed, made haste to succour them. Whereupon the Lord Deputy sent instantly Captaine Francis Roe with Sir Oliver Saint Johns Regiment (of which he was Lieutenant Colonell), to charge on the Flanck of the Vanguard, which presently retired disorderly, being followed by our foote and horse: but the Spaniards landed at Castle-Haven, marching there, and being not so good of foote as the Irish, drew out by themselves, yet were by Sir William Godolphin leading the Lord Deputies troope, soone broken, and most of them killed, the rest (with their chiefe Commander Don Alonzo Del Campo) being taken prisoners, namely, two Captaines, seven Alfieroes, and forty souldiers, whereof some were of good qualitie. In the meane time many of the light footed Irish of the Van escaped, as did likewise almost all the Rere, by advantage of this execution done upon the Spaniards and the maine Bataille, (of which body farre greater then either of the other, all were killed), but onely some sixty or thereabouts.

*The Spaniards
broken.*

Our losses.

Thus the Irish horse first leaving the foote, then two of the Battalions being routed, they all fell to flie for life, our men doing execution upon many in the place. On our part Sir Richard Greames Cornet was killed, Sir Henry Davers, Sir William Godolphin, Captaine Henry Crofts Scout-master were slightly hurt, onely sixe souldiers hurt, but many of our horses killed, and more hurt. The Irish Rebels left one thousand two hundred bodies dead in the field, besides those that were killed in two miles chase: we tooke nine of their Ensignes, all their Drummes and Powder, and got more then two thousand Armes. And had not our men been greedy of the Spaniards spoile, being very rich, had not our foote been tired with continuall watchings long before, in this

*The Irish
losses.*

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hard winters siege. Had not our horse especially been spent by ill keeping and want of all meate for many daies before, (by reason of Tyrones neerenesse, so as the day before this battaile it had been resolved in Counsell to send the horse from the Campe for want of meanes to feede them, and if Tyrone had laine still, and not suffered himselfe to bee drawne to the plaine ground by the Spaniards importunitie, all our horse must needs have been sent away or starved.) Had not these impediments been, wee had then cut the throates of all the rebels there assembled; for they never made head against them that followed the execution, nor scarce ever looked behind them, but every man shifted for himselfe, casting of his Armes, and running for life. In so much as Tyrone after confessed himselfe to be overthrowne by a sixth part of his number, which he ascribed (as wee must and doe) to Gods great worke, beyond mans capacitie, and withall acknowledged that he lost above one thousand in the field, besides some eight hundred hurt. This we understood by the faithfull report of one, who came from him some few daies after, and told the L. Deputy moreover, that he tormented himself exceedingly for this his overthrow.

*Why some of
the Irish
escaped.*

After the battell, the Lord Deputy in the midst of the dead bodies, caused thanks to be given to God for this victory, and there presently knighted the Earle of Clanrickard in the field, who had many faire escapes, his garments being often peirced with shot and other weapons, and with his owne hand killed above twenty Irish kerne, and cried out to spare no Rebell. The captive Spanish Commander Alonzo del Campo, avowed that the Rebels were sixe thousand foot and 500 horse, whereas the Lord Deputy had but some one thousand two hundred foote, and lesse then foure hundred horse. So before noone his Lordship returned to the campe, where commanding vollies of shot for joy of the victory, the Spaniards perhaps mistaking the cause, and dreaming of the Rebels approach, presently sallied out, but were

*The Lord
Deputy gives
thanks for
the victory.*

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soone beaten into the Towne, especially when they saw our triumph, and perceived our horsemen from the hill on the West side, to wave the Colours we had taken in the battell, and among the rest, especially the Spanish Colours, (for such most of them were, the Rebels in woods not using that martiall bravery). The same day an old written Booke was shewed to the Lord Deputy, wherein was a Prophetie, naming the foard and hill where this battell was given, and foretelling a great overthrow to befall the Irish in that place.

*A note of
Tyrones losse.*

A note given by one of Tyrones followers, of his losse at this overthrow.

Tirlogh Ohagan Sonne to Art Ohagan, Commander of five hundred, slaine himselfe with all his company, except twenty, whereof eleven were hurt, and of them seven died the eighteenth day, after their returne.

Kedagh Mac Donnell, Captaine of three hundred, slaine with all his men, except threescore; whereof there were hurt five and twenty.

Donnell Groome mac Donnell, Captaine of a hundred, slaine himselfe and his whole company.

Rory mac Donnell, Captaine of a hundred, slaine himselfe and his company.

Five of the Clancans, Captaines of five hundred, themselves slaine and their companies, except threescore and eighteene, whereof eighteene were hurt.

Sorly Boyes sonnes had followers in number three hundred, under the leading of Captaine Mulmore Oheagarty, all slaine with the said Mulmore, saving one and thirty, whereof twenty were hurt. Colle Duff mac Donnell, Captaine of one hundred, lost with all his company.

Three of the Neales, Captaines of three hundred, sent by Cormock mac Barron, all lost saving eighteene, whereof there were nine hurt.

Captaines slaine fourteene. Souldiers slaine 1995. Souldiers hurt 76.

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The five and twentieth day (being our Christmas day) the Spaniards in the afternoone made a slight sally, but finding us ready to entertaine them, presently they drew backe, yet to hinder our making a trench, which we then beganne, and which they found would doe them much hurt, they sallied againe strongly at nine of the clocke in the night, and maintained the fight till eleven, wherein the Ensignes to Captaine Roper and Captaine Ghest, with divers others on our part were hurt hard by their wall, but in short space after, they were beaten into the Towne with many of theirs hurt, and so we perfected that worke. The sixe and twentieth in the night, the Spaniards made another sally at the West gate (as formerly) upon a new trench wee kept close to the Towne, and that so hotly, as they inforced our men to quit it, having the Liefetenant of that guard and ten more of them shot. But when the Spaniards made up to our lower Fort, they were presented with a volly of shot in their teeth, which killed foure, and hurt eight of them, and so they drew into the Towne.

*Spanish
sallies.*

The seven and twentieth the Lord Deputy dispatched Sir Henry Davers into England, with the following letters (touching the happy overthrow of Tyrone), from his Lordship and the Counsell here, to the Lords in England.

*Sir Henry
Davers
dispatched
into England.*

IT may please your Lordships. In the last dispatch sent by Sir Oliver S. Johns, which long ere this time we hope is safely delivered unto your hands, there was at large revealed unto you all our proceedings at the siege, and also the estate wee were then in, having before us in the Towne the spanish forces, and at our backes Tyrone and Odonnell, with the Irish Army; since whose departure they dislodged from the place where they then incamped, and lay in campe within lesse then two miles of us, in the way towards Corke, whereby the passage from our Campe to Corke was blocked up, so as no provisions for our reliefe from thence could come unto us, which unto the Army was a great annoyance,

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*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to the
Lords in
England.*

[II. ii. 180.]

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and we in a manner were no better then besieged. The Enemies proud in their strength, resolved to set up their rests, accounting us in their opinion lost men, unable to resist so great a power, and therefore by a generall consent, they determined on all parts to give upon our campe, aswell out of the Towne by the Spaniards, as by the Irish on the other side, and according to that resolution, on Christmas even before day, Tyrone with his Army rose, and with all his forces of horse and foote, by breake of day presented himselfe in order of battell: but it pleased God in his goodnesse to give us a gracious victory, with a handfull of men in respect of his Army, the particulars whereof being too long to insert in a letter, we humbly referre your Lordships to the relation sent with these, wherein the same is at large & particularly related, in which overthrow we gained many Spanish letters of great consequence, the most effectuall of which we send unto your Lordships herewith, together with a briefe abstract of those which we reserve here, as unwilling to trouble your Lordships with those of lesse moment. By view of which intelligence and advices, and the relation of such Spanish Prisoners of account, and understanding, as wee have had conference with all, the second and further preparation of the forraigne enemy, is more apparantly discovered, then at the dispatching away of Sir Oliver S. Johns: And therefore we may not cease humbly to importune your Lordships, in regard of these threatned supplies by sea and land, and that the great and speedy use we have of the men, munition, victuals, and treasure, which we formerly moved your Lordships for, in the letters sent by the said Sir Oliver S. Johns, will admit no long delaies, that your Lordships will not onely be pleased to supply us presently therewith, but that those proportions may be enlarged in every point, as in your wisdomes (upon due regard had to the intelligences sent herewith) shall be thought meet: for in our understanding (we being now by the occasions aforesaid inabled to know more of the enemies designs,

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Deputy's
letter to the
Lords in
England.*

then we did before) all of every kind that was by us formerly written for, will be too little. And further, in as much as the chiefe strength of our Army consisteth in our Horse troopes, who in this service were the principall meanes and instruments of the overthrow given the enemy, as wel in giving the first charge, as in doing and following the execution: for the preservation of them in strength, we humbly pray your Lordships that the two thousand quarters of Oates formerly written for, may presently be dispatched hither; and in regard the whole Countrie is so harried and wasted, that it cannot yeeld us any reliefe, and that without corne our horses (as they beginne) must daily weaken more and more, and so our army be in hazard to perish; for timely prevention thereof, we humbly pray your Lordships, that an addition of Oates may be given to the said proportion, and although not at once, yet from time to time sent hither, as conveniency of shipping will give leave: for we dare assure your Lordships, if for want of them our horses had not beene growne so feeble, there had few of the enemies horse or foot escaped. And that your Lordships will be further pleased to send away with the best expedition the munition and habiliments of warre already written for, and to send the same with all possible haste, according to the demands sent herewith, and subscribed by the Master of the Ordinance, without which all other charges and provisions are to no purpose. We also pray your Lordships that you will be pleased to have consideration to send hither a compitent Fleete to guard the Coast, for we are of opinion, and so gather by the collections we have probably made, that the King of Spaine his Fleete will be great, which being granted, the ships we have here will not be enough to supply all occasions, considering how they must be dispersed, both to defend the Coast, and to prohibit the sending and arrivall of their seconds, as also to answere all other services, wherein shipping is necessary to be imployed. And for asmuch as the ending and diversion of this warre

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resteth chiefly in the weakening and disinabling of Tyrone, (whose reputation by this last overthrow, is both with the forraigne enemy, and his owne followers, very much blemished); and for that it may be apparantly conceived, that the Spaniard will no longer maintaine a tedious and chargable warre in this remote Kingdome, then he hath a strong and powerfull party, and safe meanes of landing therein: To disinable him from this assurance and hopes here, in our understanding, the sending of foure thousand Scots into Ulster, would doe excellent service, and they being once joined with her Majesties forces at Loughfoyle and Carickfergus, would either absolutely banish Tyrone from thence, by possessing all the holds and places of strength in Ulster, or else constraine him to make his defence at home, and keepe him from giving any helpe to the Spaniards, and so bee utterly rejected from having either credit or aides hereafter from them. The same time the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary this following letter.

[II. ii. 181.]

*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to
Master
Secretary.*

SIR we have written to the Lords both of our estate and desires, and doe wish that it may please them to conceive that the materials be great that must stop the breach that the King of Spaine hath already made in this Countrey, and a slender opposition will not resist, but be carried away with an inundation, if he send supplies. We have already miraculously overcome one dangerous brunt, and God hath given the Queene the greatest victory that ever shee obtained in this Countrey, but beleieve me Sir that there is no one place that is defended with good men, but will goe neere to breake the Army that doth force it, though it be carried: We have forced two places already held by the Spaniard, and now he remaines possessed and fortified in foure severall places more, with great store of munition, artillery and victuals. There is supply of horse & foot certainly comming unto them, some say in great numbers. We have indured, (I dare boldly say) the most miserable

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*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to
Master
Secretary.*

siege for extremity of weather and labour, that in this age hath beene heard of. If it please God to inable us to effect this, it is impossible for this army to undertake, in this season, and those places, as it is now or will be diminished, any present service without rest. Beleeve me Sir, you must make peace, or provide for a chargeable warre; for there is nothing that carries these places without roiall provisions. If her Majesty thinke her owne occasions, and not us her poore Ministers, to be the cause of this huge expence, I shall willingly indure the purgatory I live in, and sacrifice my time, my life and my living, to doe her the best service I can; but if you find that shee conceiveth the worse of me, because I am the Cooke to dresse her diet here so chargably, I beseech you Sir (if I may ever deserve your love) use your uttermost power to rid me speedily of my office, and I dare presume that I have made no evill way for my successour to tread after me. I would faine write much unto you, but with wet and heat in the last overthrow, I have taken some cold, and my head doth make me write in great paine. I beseech you Sir pardon me, and esteeme me your honest poore friend, that am resolved to be so ever. I was glad to send Sir Henry Davers over with this good newes, who (I assure you) hath taken exceeding paines, and lost some of his blood in this last service, and besides some necessity of his owne, hath long desired such an opportunity to come over for a time. And so Sir I beseech God to send us peace, for I am weary of the warre. From before Kinsale the seven & twenty of December 1601.

Yours Sir most assured to doe you
service, Mountjoy.

The 28 day of December, the Lord Deputy was advertised that Syriago a principall Commander of the Spaniards, landed in the West parts, having received newes of Tyrones overthrow, was suddenly gone for Spaine, without acquainting any of the Spaniards there-

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*Hugh
Odonnell
gone for
Spaine.*

with, and that hee carried with him in the same shippe Hugh Odonnell. And thus was the old prophesie fully accomplished, which often before wee had heard, namely, that Mounster should be the destruction of the three great Northerne Hughes. For Hugh Mac Guyer Lord of Fermanagh, and the first Robinhood of this great rebellion, was long since killed neere the Citie of Corke, and Hugh Tyrone, and Hugh O Donnell were overthrowne at Kinsale, whereof Hugh O Donnell is now fled for Spaine, whence he never returned; and Hugh Tyrone drew faintly his last breath in the North, without hope of better living, then as a Wood-kerne here, or as a fugitive abroad. Likewise Hugh Mostian, a famous Rebell at this time fled with O Donnell into Spaine.

[II. ii. 162.]

The nine and twentieth day his Lordship had advertisements from divers places, that Tyrone in his flight out of Mounster, passing the Blackwater, lost many of his carriages, and had some hundred and fortie of his men drowned, feare making them so hasty, as they could not attend the passing of their owne fellowes, much lesse the fall of the waters.

*The Spaniard
parlies.*

The last of December Don Jean Generall of the Spaniards, offered a Parley, sending his Drumme Major out of the Towne with an Alfiero, bringing a sealed letter from him to the Lord Deputy, by which he required, (as by the same sent in the next dispatch by Sir Richard Moryson to the Lords in England appeareth) that some gentleman of speciall trust and sufficiency, might bee sent from the Lord Deputy into the Towne, for whose pledge a Spanish gentleman of like quality should be sent by Don Jean into the campe, and upon conference he would acquaint the said gentleman with the conditions upon which he stood. This granted, the Lord Deputy chose Sir William Godolphin to be imploied in this important negotiation, and sent him into the town to conferre with Don John, as hee likewise sent Don Pedro Henrico to remaine in the Campe.

His first conference with Sir William Godolphin tended

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*The first
Conference.*

to this. That having found the Lord Deputy (whom he tearmed Viceroy) though a sharpe and powerfull, yet an honourable enemy; and the Irish not onely weake and barbarous, but (as hee feared) perfidious friends, hee was so farre in his affection reconciled to the one, and distasted with the other, as he was thereby induced to make an overture of such a composition as might be safe & profitable for the state of England, with least prejudice to the Crown of Spaine, by delivering into the Viceroyes power the towne of Kinsale, with all other places held by the Spaniards in Ireland, so as they might depart upon honourable tearmes, fitting men of warre not forced by necessity to receive conditions, but willingly induced for just respects to relinquish a people by whom their King and Master had beene notoriously abused, if not betrayed. That if the Viceroy liked to intertaine this parley, he would please to understand him rightly, and make such propositions as were sutable to men resolved rather to bury themselves alive, then to give way to any accord that should taste of dishonour, being confident of their present strength and the royall secondes of Spaine, did not the former respects leade them to disingage their King of this enterprize. Sir William Godolphin directed onely to receive his demands, returned to the Campe, and related them to the Lord Deputy and Counsell. The answer sent backe by him was this; That how soever the Lord Deputy had lately defeated the Irish, and well understood their weakenesse & the unresistable difficulties that pressed them, how ere they laboured to cover the same, yet knowing that her sacred Majesty his Mistresse, would in her mercifull disposition repute her victory blemished by voluntary effusion of Christian blood, he was content to intertaine this offer of agreement, so it were upon honourable tearmes, fitting the advantage her Majesty had against them.

In the next conference the Lord Deputy required for the first Article, that Don Jean should leave his treasure, munition, and artillery, and the Queenes naturall subjects

*The second
Conference.*

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to be disposed at her Majesties pleasure. But Don Jean vowed rather to indure the last of miseries, then to be guilty of so foule a treason against his King, and the reputation of his profession, though he were unable to subsist, much more now when he had not onely meanes to sustaine the warre, but hope by patience and constancy to attaine the best ends of his busines. Adding, that he tooke it so ill to be misunderstood, in having an Article of this nature propounded to him, as if it were once more mentioned, the Viceroy should from thenceforth use the advantage of his Sword, and not the benefit of his former proffers. Hee further said, that the Viceroy had cause rather to judge two hundred thousand duckets well disbursed by the Queene, to have the Spaniards quit their possession of Baltimore alone, to say nothing of Kinsale, Castle Haven, and Beere Haven, which with all them perishing, yet Baltimore might easily be kept for the arrivall of the Spanish Fleets & all seconds that his Master so deeply ingaged should please to send, which might draw on a more powerfull invasion, this first being undertaken upon false grounds, at the instance of a base and barbarous people, who having discovered their owne weakenes, had armed his King and Master to relie on his owne strength, being tied in honour to releeve his people thus ingaged. This (said hee) I speake in case the Viceroy were able to force Kinsale, as I assure my selfe hee cannot, I having upon my honour two thousand able fighting men old souldiers, besides the sicke daily recovering, now better inured to the climate, and induring of all hardnesse, besides our convenient meanes of foode, such as we Spaniards can well live upon, and our store of munition most importing, with confident assurance shortly to have new supplies of all things. Adding that he preserved his strength, to be able to front us in a breach, which their hearts not failing, they had hands and breasts to stop against trebble our forces, though he would give the Viceroy that right, that his men were passing good, yet spent and tired with a Winters siege,

*Baltimore
to be easily
kept for the
Spaniards.*

[II. ii. 183.]

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obstinately continued beyond his expectation, but with such caution and so good guard, as he having watched all advantages, could never make a salley without losse to his part, wherein hee acknowledged himselfe much deceived, that grounding upon some errour in our approches, he had promised himselfe the defeate of one thousand men at least, and at one blow: but (said he) when we meete in the breach, I am confident upon good reasons, to lay five hundred of your best men on the earth, which losse will make a great hole in your Armie, that hath already suffered such extremity.

Lastly he concluded, that the King his Master sent him to assist the two Counts O Neale and O Donnel, and he presuming on their promises to joyne their forces with his within few daies, had first long expected them in vaine, and sustained the Viceroyes Army, and at last had seene them drawne to the greatest head they could make, lodged neere Kinsale, reinforced with Companies of Spaniards, every hower promising him reliefe; and at last broken with a handfull of men, and blowne asunder into divers parts of the World, O Donnell into Spaine, O Neale into the furthest North: so as now finding no such Counts in rerum Natura (to use his very words) with whom he was commanded to joine, he had moved this accord, the rather to disingage the King his Master from assisting a people so weake, as he must beare all the burthen of the war, and so perfidious, as perhaps in requitall of his favour, they might at last bee wonne to betray him.

Relation of this conference being made to the Lord Deputy and Counsell, they considered, that the treasure that Don Jean brought, was at first but one hundred thousand Ducates, whereof the greatest part could not but be spent in paying his souldiers 4 moneths, and other occasions of expence, for which and other good reasons, they concluded not to stand upon the first article, especially since many strong reasons made the agreement, as it was honorable, so to seeme very profitable to the

*Strong reasons
for honourable
agreement.*

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State of England; namely, that our Army was wasted & tired with the winters siege. That it was dangerous to attempt a breach defended with so many able men. That if wee should lodge in the breach, yet they having many strong Castles in the Towne, so much time might be spent ere we could carry it, as our Fleete for want of victuals might bee forced to leave us. That at this time our Army was onely provided for sixe dayes. That we had not munition or Artillerie to make any more then one batterie in one place at once, five of our pieces being crased. That upon any disaster befalling us, the Irish were like to revolt. That besides the taking of Kinsale, the other places, held by the Spaniards, as Baltymore, Castle haven, and Beare-haven, would have made a long and dangerous warre, with infinite charge to the State of England, they being strongly fortified, and well stored with all provisions of warre, and our Army being so tired, as it could not attempt them, without being first refreshed, and then being supplied with all necessaries, to the unsupportable charge of our State, must have been carried by Sea to those places, unaccessable by land. Lastly, that in this time the King of Spaine could not but send them powerfull seconds, being thus farre ingaged in his Honour. Besides that by this long warre wee should bee hindred from prosecution of the Rebels, who were now so broken, as in short time they must needes be brought to absolute subjection.

After many goings to and fro, certaine Articles were agreed upon the second of January towards the end of the yeere 1601, according to the English, who end and begin the yeere at our Lady day in Lent, but the Articles beare date the twelfth of Januarie 1602 after the new stile, and according to the Spanish manner, to begin the yeere the first day of the same moneth. The Lord Deputy gave me the said Articles in English to be faire written, that the copy thereof being signed by both the Generals, might be sent into England. And likewise his Lordship commanded me to translate the same Articles

[II. ii. 184.]

*The conditions
of the
Spaniards
yeelding
Kinsale and
other places.*

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into the Lattin and Italian tongues, that two coppies of each being signed by the Generals, one of each might remaine with the Lord Deputy, and the others to be sent to the King of Spaine. These Articles follow word by word in English, as they were signed by the Lord Deputy and the Spanish Generall.

Mountjoy.

IN the Towne of Kinsale, in the Kingdome of Ireland, the twelfth of the moneth of January 1602, betweene the noble Lords, the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy and Generall in the Kingdome of Ireland, for her Majesty the Queene of England, and Don Jean de l' Aguyla, Captaine and Campe-Master Generall and Governour of the Army of his Majesty the King of Spaine, the said Lord Deputy being encamped and besieging the said Towne, and the said Don Jean within it, for just respects and to avoide shedding of blood, these conditions following were made betweene the said Lords Generals and their Campes, with the Articles which follow.

*The Articles
agreed
between the
Lord Deputy
and Don Jean
del Aguyla.*

1 First, that the said Don Jean de l' Aguyla shall quit 1.
the places which he holds in this Kingdome, as well of the Towne of Kinsale, as those which are held by the souldiers under his command in Castle-Haven, Baltimore, and the Castle at Beere-Haven, and other parts, to the said Lord Deputy (or to whom he shall appoint), giving him safe transportation, and sufficient for the said people of ships and victuals, with the which the said Don Jean with them may goe for Spaine, if he can at one time, if not, in two shippings.

2 Item, that the souldiers at this present being under 2.
the command of Don Jean in this Kingdome, shall not beare Armes against her Majesty the Queene of England, wheresoever supplies shall come from Spaine, till the said souldiers bee unshipped in some of the Ports of Spaine, being dispatched assoone as may be by the Lord Deputy, as he promiseth upon his faith and honour.

3 For the accomplishment whereof, the Lord Deputy 3.

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offereth to give free pasport to the said Don Jean and his Army, as well Spaniards as other Nations whatsoever, that are under his command, and that hee may depart with all the things hee hath, Armes, Munition, Money, Ensignes displaied, Artillery, and other whatsoever provisions of warre, and any kind of stuffe, as well that which is in Castle-Haven, as Kinsale, and other parts.

4. 4 Item, That they shall have ships and victuals sufficient for their money, according and at the prices which here they use to give, that all the people and the said things may be shipped, if it be possible at one time, if not, at two, and that to be within the time above named.
5. 5 Item, that if by contrary winds, or by any other occasions there shall arrive at any Port of these Kingdomes of Ireland or England, any ships of these, in which these men goe, they be intreated as friends, and may ride safely in the Harbour, and bee victualed for their money, and have moreover things which they shall need, to furnish them to their voiage.
6. 6 Item, during the time that they shall stay for shipping, victuals shall be given to Don Jeans people at just and reasonable rates.
7. 7 Item, that on both parts shall be cessation of Armes and security, that no wrong be offered to any one.
8. 8 Item, that the ships in which they shall goe for Spaine, may passe safely by any other ships whatsoever of her Majesties the Queene of England; and so shal the ships of the said Queene & her subjects, by those that shall goe from hence: and the said ships being arrived in Spaine, shall returne so soone as they have unshipped their men, without any impediment given them by his Majesty the King of Spaine, or any other person in his name, but rather they shall shew them favour, and helpe them if they neede any thing, and for securitie of this, that they shall give into the Lord Deputies hands three Captaines, such as he shall chuse.
9. 9 For the securitie of the performance of these articles,

[II. ii. 185.]

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Don Jean offereth, that he will confirme and sweare to accomplish this agreement, and likewise some of the chiefe Captaines of his charge shal sweare and confirme the same, in a severall writing.

10. Item, that Don Jean in person shall abide in this Kingdome, where the Lord Deputy shall appoint, till the last shipping, upon his Lordships word; and if it happen that his people be shipped all at once, the said Don Jean shall goe in the same Fleete, without any impediment given him, but rather the Lord Deputie shall give him a good ship, in which he may goe; and if his said men be sent in two shippings, then he shall goe in the last.

11. And in like sort the said Lord Deputy shall sweare and confirme, and give his word on the behalfe of her Majestie the Queene and his owne, to keepe and accomplish this agreement, and joyntly the Lord President, the Marshall of the Campe, and the other of the Counsell of State, and the Earles of Thomond and Clanrickard, shall sweare and confirme the same in a severall writing.

I promise and sweare to accomplish and keep these articles of agreement, and promise the same likewise on the behalfe of his Majestie the Catholique King my Master.

Don Jean de P Aguila.

Geo. Carew, Clanrickard, Thomond, R. Wingfeild,
Geo. Bourcher, Ro. Gardner, Ric. Levison.

The Date of this writing is after the new stile.

Don Jean de P Aguila.

Fynes Moryson.

This agreement being asigned by hands, promised by honourable words, and confirmed by solemne oathes on both parts, the Lord Deputie raised the siege upon the ninth of Januarie, and his Lordship with Don Jean de P Aguila, and some of the chiefe Spanish Captaines in his Company, rode that day to Corke, whether our Army marched the same day, the grosse of the Spaniards remain-

*The siege of
Kinsale
raised.*

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*The Earle of
Desmond
dead.*

ing at Kinsale. After the Lord Deputy dispersed the Army through the Townes of Mounster to be lodged, namely, at Corke, Waterford, Youghall, Rosse, Callan, Cashell, Thomastowne, Kilkenny, Dungarven, and Clom-mell. The tenth of January his Lordship gave order to the victualer to provide a moneths Bisquit for three thousand five hundred Spaniards, after a pound and a halfe each day for a man, and to provide for them as much beefe and beare proportionably, as could be gotten with speede. His Lordship gave order, that the shipping should bee unladen in the Ports, and made ready to transport the Spaniards into Spaine. The eleventh of January his Lordship received letters dated the two and twentieth of November, from the Lords in England, advertising that the Earle of Desmond was there lately dead, and therefore requiring that the Company of foote kept in his name, and for his maintenance, should be discharged, reserving that part of intertainement, which out of the same was allotted to the Lord Bishop of Cashell, and to the reliefe of the Earle of Desmonds sisters. Further advertising that eightene hundred quarters of Oates were sent into Mounster for the horse troopes, which would, with the transportation cost her Majesty fifteene shillings the quarter, and were to bee issued to the troopes at the same rate.

The same day his Lordship received letters, dated the foure and twentieth of December from the Lords in England as followeth.

[II. ii. 186.] **A**fter our right hearty commendations to your Lordship, we have now at last (after long and great expectation) received your letters by Sir Oliver S. Johns, who arrived yesternight at the Court, by whom although her Majestie hath not received so much satisfaction as was hoped for, upon the former probabilities contained in your dispatches, yet his relation hath made a great alteration of that anxiety, in which her Majesty remained, by those reports which have been brought to this place,



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*Letter from
the Lords in
England.*

to which in respect of your long and unexpected silence (from those parts) wee could no way give contradiction, having not received (before now) any particular advertisement, since the arrivall of Sir Thomas Savage, and therefore no way able to make any judgement of your estate, which was thus described. First, that the Irish rebels lodged close by you; that your Campe was full of all misery and penury (to the great slander of this Kingdome); lastly, that there were six thousand Spaniards landed, of which last particular my Lord of Ormonds man was the relator. For prevention of which uncertainty hereafter, we are commanded in her Majesties name to require you, from hence forward to advertise us frequently from time to time of your proceedings, to the intent that her Majestie may still have meanes to provide for your support, which you may not looke to receive from hence in the time you shall use them, except wee may be daily informed before-hand from you, of all such particular circumstances as fall out in that place. To come therefore now to this present dispatch, wee have perused your Journals, both of the services done, and of the difficulties which have interrupted your proceedings hitherto, whereunto wee meane to make no other replie then this; That wee that know your judgement and affection to her Majesties service, so well as we doe, must say thus much, that wee are no more doubtfull, that you have done as much as you could, then you have reason (we hope) by the course that is taken with you from hence, not to beleieve and know, that her Majesty hath in no sort neglected you. For demonstration whereof, you shall first understand, that before the arrivall of Sir Oliver Saint Johns, her Majestie had given order for foure thousand men to be sent into Mounster, with such supplies of munition and victuals, as her Majestie thought fit provisionally to send, though (for lacke of advertisement) wee could not make any other particular judgement, what were too much, or too little. Only this we know, that if that body of Spanish forces (which are now in

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*Extreme
difficulties of
maintaining
an Army in
Ireland.*

that Kingdome) shall not be defeated before the like body of an army (or a greater) arrive, her Majesty shall be put to such a warre in the end, as howsoever this State may undergo the excessive charges of continuall leavies and transportation (which you wil well consider to be of intolerable burthen to this Kingdome, all circumstances considered), yet such will be the extreme difficulties to maintaine such an Army in that Realme, where it must fight against forraigne Armes, and an universall rebellion, and in a climate full of contagion, and in a Kingdome utterly wasted, as we do wel foresee, that it wil draw with it more pernicious consequents, then ever this State was subject to. For whosoever shall now behold the beginning of this malicious designe of the King of Spaine, must well conclude, although he hath now begun his action upon a false ground to find a powerfull party in that Kingdome at his first discent (wherein he hath bin in some measure deceived), yet seeing he is now so deeply ingaged and so well findeth his error, that he will value his honour at too high a rate, to suffer such a worke to dissolve in the first foundation. In consideration whereof her Majesty like a provident Prince, resolveth presently to send a strong Fleet to his owne coast, to prevent his new reinforcement, not doubting, if such a disaster should happen, that these forces should remaine so long unre-moved by you in Ireland (which we cannot beleeve) that her Majesties Fleet shall yet be in great possibilitie to defeate the new supplies by the way; for which purpose her Majestie perceiving how dangerous a thing it is for the Fleete in Ireland, to lie off at Sea in this Winter weather (which they must doe, if it be intended that they shall hinder a descent), and how superfluous a thing it is to maintaine such a Fleet only to lie in Harbours, her Majestie is pleased to revoke the greatest part of her Royall ships hither, and to adde to them a great proportion, and send them all to the Coast of Spaine, leaving still such a competent number of ships there, as may sufficiently blocke up the Harbour, and give securitie

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and countenance to transportation. To which end we have written a letter in her Majesties name to revoke Sir Richard Levison, and to leave Sir Amias Preston with the charge of those ships contained in this note, to whom we have given directions in all things to apply himselfe to those courses which you shall thinke most expedient [II. ii. 187.] for that service. You shall also understand, that we have now directed Sir Henrie Dockwra to send eight hundred men by pole to Knockfergus to Sir Arthur Chichester, and commanded him to make them up one thousand, and so with all speede the said Sir Arthur himselfe to march up with a thousand of the best men to your reinforcement in Mounster. And thus having for the present little else to write unto you, till we heare further, we doe conclude with our best wishes unto you of all happy and speedy successe. And so remaine &c. at the Court at Whitehall, the foure and twentieth of December, 1601.

The same eleventh day of January, his Lordship received other letters from the Lords, dated the seven and twentieth of December, signifying, that whereas his Lordship had often moved on the behalfe of the Captaines, that they might receive their full pay, without deduction of the souldiers apparrell, which they themselves would provide, now her Majestie was pleased to condescend thereunto. I remember not whether his Lordship had moved this since, or before the new mixed coyne was currant, but sure this was great advantage to her Majestie at this time, having paied silver for the apparrell, and being to make the full pay in mixed money.

*The pay of
the souldiers.*

The same eleventh day of January his Lordship received from the Lords in England letters dated the five and twentieth of November, signifying, that a proportion of victuals was provided at Plimoth, for which he should send foure Merchants ships of the Queenes Fleete at Kinsale. And requiring to bee advertised upon what termes the Spaniards had yeelded, which were then sent over for England, that they might be disposed accordingly.

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*Necessity for
well stored
Magazines in
Ireland.*

By the old date of this letter and another above mentioned of the two and twentieth of November, received all on the eleventh of January, it may appeare how necessarie it is to have the Magazines in Ireland well stored, and how dangerous it is, that the Army should depend on sudden provisions.

The same day his Lordship received letters from the Lords in England, that her Majestie had made a leavy of foure thousand foote, whereof two thousand were now at the Ports to be imbarked for Mounster, namely, one thousand one hundred committed to the charge of eleven Captaines, and nine hundred under the conduct of some of the said Captaines left to his Lordships disposall.

The fourteenth his Lordship lying at the Bishop of Corkes house, received this following letter from Don Jean, lying in the Towne of Corke, translated out of Spanish.

Most Excellent Lord,

*Don Jean's
letter to the
Lord Deputy.*

SInce they carried me to the Citie of Corke, certaine Merchants have told me, they thinke they should find ships to carry me and my folke into Spaine, if your excellency would give them license and pasport, of which I humbly beseech your highnes, as also that of your great benignitie, your excellency will have pitie of these his prisoners, who here do expect the great mercie, which so great a Prince as your Excellency, useth towards his servants and prisoners. These poore prisoners suffer extreme wants, both with hunger and cold; for there is no sustenance given them at all, nor find they any almes. I beseech your Excellency will bee pleased to have compassion of them. There is one dead of hunger, and others are ready to die of it. God keepe your Excellency the yeeres which we his servants wish his Excellency. From Corke the foure and twentieth of January 1602 (stilo novo and as they write.)

Your Excellencies servant

Don Jean de l' Aguila.

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The Spanish prisoners were these: Taken at Rincorran Castle, men and women, 90. Taken at Castle Nyparke 16. Taken in the sallye the second of December, 13. Taken at Tyrones overthrow the foure and twentieth of December, aswell principall as ordinary men one and forty prisoners, in all one hundred sixtie; besides the runnawaies during the siege were thirty, and these together with many of the said prisoners, had been sent into England, and the rest (of whom Don Jean writes) were still prisoners at Corke.

*The number
of the Spanish
prisoners.*

The foure and twentieth of January, the Lord Deputy and Councill here wrote to the Lords in England this letter following. [II. ii. 188.]

M Ay it please your Lordships, wee have received your letters of the foure and twentieth of December, the eleventh of January, which were the first that wee received out of England, since the arrivall of Sir Richard Levison with our munition and supplies. And although we have upon every important revolution of our businesse, dispatched unto your Lordships both our estate and desires, yet we humbly desire your Lordships pardon, for the omission of our dutie to enforme you more often of our present estate, the chiefe cause thereof being, the respect and feare wee have to possesse you with such falsehoods, as it seemeth they doe, which undertake more liberally to advertise your Lordships of the estate of our affaires; for in no place doe all intelligences come apparelled (even to them that are neerest unto them) in more deceiveable mists, untill time and great observation discovereth the truth. So that if we should write unto your Lordships often, according to our best informations, wee should present to your Reverent judgements such ridiculous contrarieties, as would give you occasion to confound your determinations, and to condemne us. But in generall, we beseech your Lordships to remember, that as wee have in all our dispatches declared our hopes to overcome all difficulties, (out of the confidence of our

*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to the
Lords in
England.*

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1601.

*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to the
Lords in
England.*

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good cause and alacritie to serve her Majestie), so we have continually propounded, how great and difficult a warre it was, in which we were ingaged, in that (without Gods miraculous preservation) the Army in a winters siege would so decay, as it must have pleased your Lordships continually to supply it with men, victuals, and munition. Also we propounded, that we held it a matter of no small danger and great difficulty, to force such and so many men in a place of the least advantage. That wee expected no lesse then a generall revolt, and a powerfull combination of the Rebels against us. Lastly againe we humbly desire your Lordships to remember, that we have promised nothing but the uttermost of our faithfull Counsels and endeavours, to accomplish in that service her Majesties purpose. And therefore we are most heartily sorry, that by our faithfull and sincere Counsels, and our extreame induring in the execution thereof (howsoever the event were not so speedily happy as we desired and laboured for), yet it was not our happinesse, that her Majestie should receive so much satisfaction by Sir Oliver Saint Johns, as wee hoped to have given her upon the former probabilities. Yet when it shall please your Lordships throughly to consider our difficulties, by the true relation thereof, with all materiall circumstances, we presume it will appeare, that we could have done no more, and we must only attribute it unto God, that we have done so much. By Sir Henrie Davers your Lordships have been acquainted at large with all our proceedings untill that present. Since which time the effects of that victory (which it pleased God of his infinite goodnesse to give us against the traitors upon Christmas Eve) have appeared by great and unexpected good thereof insuing: for the Rebels are broken and dispersed; O Donnel, Redmond Bourke, and Hugh Mostyon (all Arch-rebels) have imbarcked themselves with Sirriago for Spaine, and that without Tyrones knowledge, and contrary to his advise and will, they having only left behind them in Mounster (with the Provinciaall Rebels) Tyrrell and a

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small force with him, being dispersed by smal companies in Carbery, Beere, Desmond, Kerry, and the County of Lymrick. Tyrone in great feare, and with a speedy march hasted out of the Province of Mounster, loosing upon every Foard many of his Foote, but especially in passing the rivers of Broadwater, of May in Connolagh, and at the Abbey Owney, in O Mulryans Country. At which Foards, the waters being high (as we are informed), he lost above two hundred men, and all the way as he went, the wearied foote cast away their Armes, which those of the Country gathered up, and with all tooke some of their heads, but not so many as they might have done, if they had regarded their duties as they ought. Their tired horses were slaine by their riders. Their hurt men which escaped at the overthrow, and were carried away upon garrons, died upon the way, and foure principall Gentlemen (whereof wee understand Tyrone himselfe was one, and Mac Mahown another, the rest are not knowne yet) were caried in litters. Since his departure from O mulryans Country, we heare nothing of him, but we assure your Lordships, that the dismay in which they were and still are, is incredible. Upon New-yeeres Eve, Don Jean sent a letter unto me the Deputy, the copy whereof is here within sent unto your Lordships. The next day Sir William Godolphin was sent with instructions, to receive from Don Jean the points, whereof hee desired to treat, whose discreete carriage in so weighty a cause (wherein hee performed as much, as in discretion and judgement could be required) was such, as (without doing the Gentleman wrong) we may not omit to recommend him to your honourable favours, he being (as by experience we may truly report) wise, valiant, and of many extraordinary good parts. The copy of the articles agreed upon betweene us and Don Jean, subscribed by either part, your Lordships with these shall likewise receive, hoping that in the same we have done nothing, but that which shall be agreeable to your Lordships, and which (as we suppose) our present estate (duly

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considered) vehemently urged us to imbrace. Now our great care is to hasten these Spaniards away, who are (as Don Jean affirmes) no lesse by pole then three thousand five hundred. The defect of shipping is our chiefe want. They and wee are in equall paine, for they are no lesse desirous to bee gone, then we are to send them away. The contempt and scorne in which the Spaniards hold the Irish, and the distaste which the Irish have of them, are not to bee beleevd by any, but those who are present to see their behaviours, and heare their speeches; insomuch as we may probably conjecture, that by such time as Don Jean with his forces is arrived in Spaine, it will be a difficult thing for the Irish hereafter to procure aides out of Spaine. The copy of the contract for the rates which Don Jean must pay for tunnage, and for victuals, for his men in their returne, your Lordships with these shall also receive. The ninth of this moneth wee dissolved the Campe, and brought hither with us Don Jean, who remains hostage for the performance of the Covenants betweene us.

The day following, Capt. Roger Harvy and Capt. Flower were dispatched Westward, to receive from the Spaniards the Castles of Castle-haven, of Baltimore, and of Beere-haven. The winning of which places in our judgements (although Kinsale had been taken by force) would have been more difficult unto us then that of Kinsale, aswell in respect of the incommodities which wee should have found in keeping a strong and furnished Army in so remote places, as in respect of the naturall strength of those places, and espetially of Baltimore, which with a little Art would bee made of great strength. Since our comming to Corke, I the Deputie, to ease her Majesties great and unsupportable charges, have discharged two thousand foote in List, wherein, without all respects of favour, I cast those, who had the weakest Companies. And assoone as wee may bee better secured, that the Spaniards purpose to forbear any further attempt for this Realme (which in a few moneths will appeare) as

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many as possibly can be spared, shall bee in like sort cashered. To suppress the present Rebellion in Mounster, I the Deputy have designed foure thousand foot, and three hundred twenty five horse, which being layed in such convenient places as wee intend to lay them, our hope is, that in short time this Rebellion will bee extinguished. But untill wee bee better assured from the attempts of Spaine for this Kingdome, the remainder of the Armie is dispersed into the remote places of the Province Eastward of Corke, and I the Deputy doe purpose to remaine here, untill I may be more secured, that there will be no cause to draw the Army backe into these parts. Paul Ivie the Inginer (with the best expedition that may be), shall bee sent to the parts of Baltymore and Beer-haven, to chuse out fit grounds to fortifie. The like must be done at Kinsale, and for the better holding of the Cities of this Province in due obedience (of whose assurance, in case the Spaniards had prevailed, wee had cause to doubt) wee thinke it (under your Lordships reformation) very expedient, that in every of them, Cittadels were raised, which guarded with a few men, and having some Pieces of Artillerie, will ever have power to command them. These places being thus strengthened, there is no Port forgotten, that may be fit for the Spaniards accomodating in any enterprise from hence upon England; for all which lie in Desmond, Kerry, or Connaght, have too large a Sea to passe for England, which is subject to infinite inconveniences. And as for the coast within Saint Georges Channell, the dangers of it are so infinite, as there is no feare of those Ports. Notwithstanding it hath pleased God to give us this happie successe, in freeing this Realme of the Spanish Army under Don Jean, yet fearing that some seconds under another Commander may be employed hither, we humbly beseech your Lordships, that you will bee pleased to send the victuals for which wee wrote by Sir Oliver Saint Johns. If the Spanish supplies come, we shall have cause to expend them in this Province. If they come

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not, then our cares shall bee such, as they shall be preserved, and dispensed to the best use for her Majesties service. The like sute we make for the munitions for which wee then wrote. But for the supplies required of us in the dispatch wee made by Sir Henrie Davers, your Lordships may please to make stay of them, till a further occasion to use them. Onely of one thousand thereof we have great neede, for the reinforcing of the Companies which are weake; and therefore we desire that five hundred of them may land here at Corke, and the other five hundred at Waterford, and that the rest may be in readinesse, if we have any new occasion to send for them, till which time we are unwilling to charge her Majesty, or trouble your Lordships or to draw any new forces into these parts, which hath made us give direction, that Sir Arthur Chichester with the one thousand men which your Lordships have commanded him to leade hither, shal stay about the Newry, and make the warre there, aswell defending the Pale, as annoying Tyrone: for Sir Arthur being there, shall be neere enough to us, if there should fall out any occasion to draw those men hither. Sir Richard Moryson is made the bearer of these our letters, whom we have chosen to satisfie your Lordships in such things, wherein happily you may doubt. In particular, wee have acquainted him with the dates of all our letters, which wee have sent your Lordships since the landing of the Spaniards; so as hee can informe your Lordships of his owne knowledge, that we all or I the Deputy have written thus often, namely, the three and twentieth of September, the first, third, and foure and twentieth of October; the seventh, and the thirteenth of November; the seventh, twelfth, and seven and twentieth of December, and this present dispatch by himself. If any of these have miscaried, or found so slow passage, as your Lordships expectations were not satisfied in such time, as for the service had been fit, we beseech you be pleased to consider, that the like may happen to such of yours as are sent hither. And this may appeare by

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Deputy's
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England.*

your Lordships letters which we last received. For the eleventh of Januarie (as is noted in the beginning of this letter) we received your Lordships of the foure and twentieth of December, and with it another of the seven and twentieth of that moneth touching the apparrell, a third of the two and twentieth of December, yea a fourth of the two and twentieth of November. Wee have licensed Captaine Josias Bodley to passe into England, upon some private businesse importing him, and have addressed him to your Lordships, to receive your pleasure. If you resolve upon any fortifications in this Kingdome, the Gentleman is very well experienced, and practised in that Art, and one whom in all our workes wee have principally employed, which he hath with great hazard, labour, and sufficiency discharged. We find all men here to imbrace with much gladnesse her Majesties resolution, to leave the apparrelling of the souldier, being much better contented to have full pay, without detaining of any summes for their clothes, and we hope it will be a meane to make the Captains keepe their companies strong. And as your Lordships have directed, upon notice of the decease of the Earle of Desmond, the company allowed for him, is discharged, save what hath pleased you to continue to his sister, to the Archbishop of Cashell, and Jo. Power: Order is also taken that the Oates sent over hither, shall be issued at as high rates as we can, but it hath never beene hitherto seene, that the price exceeded ten shillings the quarter, and we thinke they cannot be issued at a higher rate, for the souldier cannot live paying any more, but will rather suffer his horse to starve, which would be greater inconveniency to the service, then if the oates had not come at all, though that way also they must have starved, if the siege had continued. The Spaniards shipped from hence to Plymoth, where either such as had runne away from the Spaniards, or such as were in Ryncorren and Castle Nyparke, and yellded upon promise of their lives onely; and so much I the Deputy signified by my letters to the

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Gentlemen of the parts where they should land, of purpose to be made knowne to your Lordships, and that they might accordingly be suffred to passe into France, or some other Countrey, which was as much as they desired. And so, &c.

From Corke this foureteenth of January 1601.

The Lord President was desirous to goe over with this dispatch of pleasing newes to the Court, but the Lord Deputy was loth to spare him, till the Spaniards were gone, and because the relation of this businesse much concerned his Lordships honour, he thought it necessary to chuse a messenger, as in other parts fit for the busines, so especially sound to him in affection. And for such he chose Sir Richard Moryson, who had beene very inward with him, till the death of the Earle of Essex, at which time his Lordship began to grow something strange towards him, in regard that M^r Secretary had conceived some displeasure against him, about a passage of his dependancy on the said Earle; yet his Lord^p ever professed to continue his love to him, & promised at some fit time, to make his peace with Master Secretary. To which purpose his Lordship chose this occasion, concurring with his owne ends. Onely his Lordship advised Sir Richard Moryson, to entreat the L. Presidents approbation of his carrying this packet, to the said end so much importing him, to which the Lord President very nobly gave his consent, and so hee was dispatched with the Lord Deputies and the Lord Presidents letters to Master Secretary of especiall recommendations on his behalfe.

*Sir Richard
Moryson
chosen to carry
the dispatch
to the Court.*

*His
instructions.*

Among his instructions, he was directed, at his first arrivall, to repaire to Sir Oliver Saint Johns, to learne of him the present estate of the Lord Deputies affaires in Court, and that after, they both should communicate their proceeding one with the other. To an imaginary question, why there was no use made of the first breach at the North East gate of Kinsale, hee was directed to answere, that the first battery was chiefly intended to

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annoy the Spaniards, by beating downe the houses, and to take from them the use of some places, whence they might annoy us. That when by beating downe the gate, we had made a breach, we found it not yet to be attempted, but made neerer approaches, whereupon the Spaniards made their strong salley, both upon our approaches and upon our Cannon, and the next day wee had intelligence that Tyrone, Odonnell, and all the Rebels, were encamped so neere us, as if wee had ingaged our selves in that worke, and in the garding of our Cannon so far out of the Campe, they might in three houres have fallen upon us on all sides, with great advantage, which made us draw the Cannon into the Campe, and to leave that worke, chusing rather to invest them close on the West side, which before lay open, so as they might easily that way receive succours from the rebels, and joine with their forces. Further the reasons were set downe, which moved the Lord Deputy and the Counsell, to make composition with Don Jean, namely, our weakenesse, and the enemies strength, since our Army by sickennesse, run-awayes, and death, was fallen to be almost as weake, as at the first sitting downe, whereas the Spaniards were more now then three thousand men by Pole: the sufferings of a Winters siege, falling more upon us in the field, then upon them in the Towne. Besides, if we had taken Kinsale by force, our Army could not possibly have marched into the Western parts, possessed by other Spaniards, till it had beene refreshed, and till we had new supplies of victuals, and munition, which could not easily arrive, Easterly winds in Winter being very rare upon this Coast. Besides that ere we could have forced the Spaniards in the West, in all likelihood new spanish supplies would have arrived, and the taking of those remote places, would have beene more difficult and dangerous, then that of Kinsale, and the King of Spaine would have bin ingaged in a long war, which by this composition is like to be ended. Besides our Army consisted much of Irish, unfit for such service, as the entring

*The reasons
which moved
the Lord
Deputy to
make com-
position with
Don Jean.*

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*The state of
the battery
and munitions.*

of a breach, so as therein we must of necessity have used our old English companies, where in all probability we must have lost great part, (they being esteemed by the Spaniards themselves as gallant fellows as ever they met, and such as in truth the losse of them would be for many yeeres unrepairable). And if wee had beene repulsed with any blow given us, we had reason to doubt, that all the Irish (yea those of our Army) would have turned their swords against us; yea, if the breach had beene entered, the Towne of Kinsale being built all of stone, the Spaniards in the houses would have made us new worke, no lesse difficult then the former. Moreover, sixe of our Peeces for battery were crased, so as wee could not make any more then one breach, and the Spaniards having so many hands, and so large scope of ground within, might easily have stopped one gap against us. And if we could have made divers breaches, yet we had not powder and bullets sufficient for that purpose, and for the small shot: besides that our men were so wasted, as they could not guard divers batteries, neither had wee sufficient inginers for that purpose: So that, howsoever we stood upon tearmes, that Don Jean should leave his munitions and treasure to her Majesty, yet finding him make obstinate opposition thereunto, we were forced for the above named reasons, and many like, to make this present composition.

*The malice of
the Spaniards
against the
Irish.*

Likewise among the instructions, divers reasons were set downe, moving Don Jean to make the said composition, namely, the malice he and the Spaniards generally had conceived against the Irish, in whose aid they too late discovered no confidence could judicially bee placed. And for that they comming to succour Tyrone and Odonnell, could never see any such men, saying, that they were not *In rerum natura*, (that is, existent). Also for that Don Jean, having instructions to keepe the field, and not to defend Kinsale, now since the overthrow of the Irish, had no hope to be able to come into the field. Moreover, that his best men in this long siege were spent,

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in continuall watches, and his new men grew weake, with feeding onely upon ruske. Further his desire to disingage the King his Master, from a warre wherein he had little probability to prevaile, in respect of the small or no assistance, which he conceived might be expected from the Irish. Also for that the treasure he brought, being at the first but one hundred thousand duckets, was in great part exhausted, by paying the souldiers sixe pence per diem, and the Commanders their entertainements, so as by the remainder he had no hope to worke any revolt among the Irish, or to give satisfaction to the covetous humours of those already in rebellion.

The nine and twentieth of January, the Lord Deputy and Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to the
Lords in
England,
29th January,
1601.*

MAY it please your Lordships. Since our last dispatch by Sir Richard Moryson, here hath no extraordinary matter happened, that might give us just cause now so soone to write againe, were it not, that it pleased your Lordships in your last, to blame our slacknesse, that of late we wrote too seldome, and to command from hence a more frequent advertisement of our proceedings, which for your Lordships satisfaction we are most carefull to performe. The chiefe point to which of late wee have applied our selves, hath beene the dispatching away of the Spaniards into their Countrey, because till we have freed the Countrey of them, we may not safely leave this Province, to follow such services in other parts, as we desire next to undertake, and we doe the more earnestly labour to end this, for that wee more and more observe such a settled hatred against this people, both in Don Jean and the Spanish in generall, as wee gather upon many good grounds, that if they could be returned before any new supplies come from Spaine, the King would be easily induced to forbear any further to ingage himselfe in this businesse, and for that they withall doe protest, to use their best endeavours to that effect, which we hold

*The dispatch-
ing away of
the Spaniards.*

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*Want of
Shipping.*

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*Neale Garve
O Donnell.*

to be unfained. But the winds continuing hitherto Westerly, and for the most part somewhat to the southward, and withall very much stormy, neither such of them as had shipping, and for a good space lay aboard to take the first occasion to be gone, can by any meanes get out of the Harbour, nor such shipping of ours as are to come from the Easterly parts, for transportation of the rest, can find the meanes to come about hither, nor three other ships that have beene long ready to goe to the Westward, to take in those at Castle Haven, Baltimore, and Beerehaven, can by any industry worke thither for that purpose, though we know they have with all care and earnestnesse endeavoured it. So as now we grow more doubtfull then before, that other forces from Spaine will arrive here, ere these get home, and therefore cannot but wish, that for the prevention thereof, her Majestie will bee pleased to continue her resolution, for the sending of her Fleete to Sea, with as much expedition as may be, and that the Tramontana, and the Moone, being ships of small burthen, and so fittest for the service on this coast, may presently bee sent hither, and the rather, for that here will bee none left but onely the Swiftsure under the command of Sir Amias Preston (the two Merchants ships, appointed by your Lordships to stay here, being, the one sent away with Sir Richard Levison, and the other imployed for the transporting of these Spaniards, by reason we had not other ships for that purpose.) And upon the same grounds, wee most humbly pray your Lordships, to send away the one thousand foote for supplies, and what else we desired in our former letters, that we may not bee unprovided for the worst that may happen, although that wee are in good hope, ere it bee long, to have good reason to ease her Majesties charge in this Countrey, without any danger to her service here. We are further humbly to beseech your Lordships, to procure us her Majesties Warrant, to passe unto Neale Garve O Donnell the Countrey of Tyreconnell, in such sort as we promised the same unto him under our hands, now almost a yeere

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agoe, so warranted by direction from her Majesty. He thinks the time long till hee hath his grant, and in his late letter to me the Deputy, protests that he will doe no more service, untill he have seene me, or that his grant bee performed; for which though I have blamed him, as I justly might, that being an unfit fashion of writing for any subject, yet the rudenesse of his education, and his forwardnesse and abilitie to doe service considered, we cannot but acknowledge, that we hold it very meete, that we should performe unto him what we promised, which to doe we want warrant from her Majesty; and therefore desire to have it with your Lordships next dispatch, for we know he wil earnestly call upon it. We doe not heare of any head of importance or strength, that remaines gathered together of the Rebels, so that we hope, that if no more Spanish succours doe arrive, their force will quickly come to nothing. But because we cannot assure the subjects, what further assistance the Rebels shall receive out of Spaine, and for that if the King send any more, wee presume he will doe it in a farre greater measure then heretofore, as having experience not to trust in the force of the Rebels, and therefore reason to relie upon his owne strength. Wee most humbly desire your Lordships for a while to continue your honourable cares of our affaires, and to enable us to withstand whatsoever shall bee attempted by the forraigne enemy, and what you send, we will imploy with all sinceritie and our best endeavours, to the advancement of the service which her Majestie doth require and expect from us. And so, &c.

*The Rebels
dispersed.*

The last of January, the Lord Deputie was advertised by one comming out of the West parts, that he was at Beerhaven the thirteenth of that moneth, where the Spaniards were in number sixtie, and Oswyllivan had some three hundred Irish, and the Spaniards not knowing of Don Jeans composition with his Lordship, did build a Fort there with trees and earth, neere the Castle, and planted three smal pieces of Ordinance therein, whereof

*The
Spaniards at
Beerhaven.*

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the greatest carried nine pound of powder. That hee came from thence to Baltimore, where hee found one hundred Spaniards, which did not fortifie, but hearing of Don Jeans composition, and having two ships with them, had shipped their Ordinance, and were ready to goe to Sea.

*A mediator
from Tyrone.*

About this time one Richard Owen came from Tyrone, to mediate with the Lord Deputy her Majesties mercy towards him; whereupon his Lordship gave leave to a Gentleman in the Pale of Tyrones old acquaintance, to parlee with him, according to the following instructions, dated the fourth of February.

When you speake with him, you shall tell him, that you understand, that Richard Owen came from him to the Lord Deputy, with commission from him to tell his Lordship, that he desired to be received into the Queenes mercy, if his life might be secured.

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Whereupon you finding in him such conformity, (out of your ancient love, which in former time you bare him), were glad of the alteration; and therefore, as his friend did now undertake this long journey, to perswade him to those courses, which might best answer his duty to his Prince, and repaire his estate, which in your opinion is desperate.

*Conditions of
pardon for
Tyrone.*

If you find him desirous to bee received to mercy, you shall give him hope of it, and promise him furtherance for the effecting of it, upon these conditions. That he

1. shall in token of his penitency, and according to the duty of a Rebelle to his naturall Prince, first under his hand write a letter of submission to the Lord Deputy, humbly craving in the same her Majesties mercy, with promise to redeeme his errours past by his future service. That
2. likewise hee shall write a publike submission to her Majesty, imploring at her hands forgiveness of his faults, and likewise promise amendement of his life, with a willing desire to doe her some acceptable service, in recompence of his transgression, in the same protesting, to serve her Majesty against all men, either of Ireland,

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or forraigners, that shall endeavour the disturbance of this Countrey.

That he shall put into her Majesties hands his eldest sonne, for the assurance of his future loyalty, and foure principall gentlemen of his blood, as hee formerly promised. 3.

That hee shall at his charge, find workemen to build such Forts in the County of Tyrone, and in such places, as the Lord Deputy shall thinke fit. 4.

That he shall permit throughout Tyrone her Majesties Officers of Justice, as the Sheriffes, and others, to have free liberty to execute their Offices, as is accustomed in other Provinces and Counties of the Realme, and answere all other duties formerly agreed upon. 5.

That he shall onely undertake for himselfe, and his pledges to lie for no more, then those that dwell upon that land onely, that is contained in his Letters Pattents, not any way undertaking for the rest of Tyrone, as Turlogh Brassiloes sonnes, Mac Mahownd, O Cane, Macgenis, Macguire, the two Clandeboyes, and all of the East side of the Ban. That if any of his neighbours shall continue in rebellion, none of their people shall be harboured in Tyrone, and likewise that none of Tyrone shall (by his consent or knowledge) succour any Rebell, or give assistance to them; and if any such offender shall happen to be discovered, either by himselfe, or any other her Majesties Officers, upon knowledge thereof, that hee shall doe his best endeavour to prosecute the parties offending, and either take them, whereby they may be tried by the lawes of the Realme, or kill them, if they may not otherwise bee had, and shall assist her Majesties Officers, in taking to her use the goods and chattels of the offenders and their retinues. That he shall not onely truely pay all her Majesties rents and duties, from this time forward, due unto her out of Tyrone, but also pay the arrerages, that for many yeeres have beene by him detained. 6.

That in respect of the great charges that he hath put her Majesty unto, (although it be not the thousand part 7.

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- of her disbursements), In nomine pene (which in all such great offences is accustomed) towards the victualing of her Majesties garrisons, he shall pay two thousand Cowes
8. within sixe moneths. That the County of Tyrone may bee limited and no more by him to be possessed, then
 9. is contained in his Letters Pattents: That the territory of Tyrone may be divided into shires, and have gaoles
 10. as he hath formerly desired. That he put at liberty the sonnes of Shane O Neale, and all other prisoners English and Irish. These things you shall onely propound as from your selfe, yet as conceiving that they will be demanded at his hands, if he be received, and to draw as large an overture from him, of what he will agree unto, as you can perswade him, telling him, that the greater assurance he doth give the state of his loyalty, the greater will be his safety, for we shall conster his good meaning by his free offer thereof, and after we shall have the lesse reason to be jealous of him.

The fifteenth of February the Lord Deputy and Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

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*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to the
Lords in
England.*

MAY it please your Lordships. The foureteenth of this last moneth we dispatched Sir Richard Moryson, with our letters to your Lordships from this place, and the nine and twentieth we wrote againe by Captaine Butler, yet to this day the wind hath continued still so Westerly, as since the departure of Sir Richard, no shipping is come to us, either out of England from your Lordships, (as we desired) or from Waterford, Wexford, and those parts, (as we directed), to carry away the Spaniards hence, nor yet until sunday the seventh hereof, could those ships stirre, that lay ready at Kinsale, to be sent to Baltimore, Castle Haven, and Beere Haven: but now they are gone, we hope that the service to be done by them, (which is the possessing of the Castles, and sending away the Spaniards in them), will be presently accomplished, although the wind hath served them so

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Deputy's
Letter to the
Lords in
England.*

scantly, as wee feare they will hardly recover all the places whereunto they are directed. There is onely one Scottish ship gone from Kinsale for Spaine, which carried one hundred sixety Spaniards with part of the Artillery, but there lies now ready at the Harbour for the first wind, so much shipping as will carry away one thousand five hundred more, so as there will bee yet remaining in Kinsale above one thousand Spaniards, which with the first shipping that comes from the other Ports, shall be imbarked. Don Jean staies to goe last. It appeareth by some letters intercepted, which wee send herewithall unto your Lordships, that the King of Spaine purposeth to send a larger supply hither with all expedition. Don Jean assures us to doe his best, to stay them, and if he arrive first in Spaine, he makes no doubt to dissuade their comming; but if they should come before his departure, he promiseth to returne them, according to his covenant in the contract, if they doe not come under the command of some other, that hath a commission a part from his from the King. The Irish have of late received letters from Odonnell, to encourage the Rebels to persever in their rebellion, assuring them of present aide from Spaine, in the meane time, the best of them all doe but temporize, being ready to assist them, when they come, especially if they come in any strength, as it is to bee thought in all reason they will, having found their first error. Her Majesty must therefore be pleased to be at some charge to erect fortifications at Beere Haven, Kinsale, and this place, the commodities and weakenesse of these places, being as well knowne to the Spaniards as to us, and further with all speed to erect Cittadels at Lymbrick, Corke, and Waterford, though it bee onely to assure the Townes from revolt. It appeareth by the King of Spaines letter, (and so by the Duke of Lermoes), that his heart is very much set upon the enterprize of Ireland, and therefore it is not unlike, but that he may send more supplies, after or before Don Jeans arrivall in Spaine, either under him or some other Commander, which if hee

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*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to the
Lords in
England.*

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doe, it is also likely the same will be sent shortly. For prevention thereof (if in your Lordships wisdome it shall be thought meet), we doe humbly beseech, that the foure thousand supplies heretofore desired, and by your Lordships intended, may bee presently sent hither, whereof two thousand to be erected into companies, and their Captaines to be named here, and the other 2000 for supplies of the Army, which is exceeding weake; for our men die daily in greater numbers then they died in the camp, the infection being greater, and by some thought a kinde of plague, (for the people in the Townes die in farre greater numbers then the souldiers), though we hope the contrary: And wee doe further desire, that her Majesty will be pleased to hasten her Fleete to the Coast of Spaine, which comming timely, will in our opinions hinder any enterprize for Ireland, but least that should faile, we renew our former motion, that the Tramountana and the Moone, may be returned to serve upon the Coast of Mounster, that the proportions of munition and victuals desired in our former letters, may speedily be dispatched hither and that victualers without impediment may come from all places to releve us, for already a very great dearth is begun, and a famine must ensue, the rates of all things being incredible, and the new money much repined at, notwithstanding we do our uttermost endeavors to advance it. But in a matter of so great importance, we humbly desire your Lordships to give us leave to deliver our opinions freely, having so assured ground for it, that if the King of Spaine continue his war in this Country, it will be hard to preserve her Majesties army and Kingdom, without the altering of the currant mony, so general is the dislike therof, and so insolently do they begin already to refuse it: but if there come no forraine aide, her Majesty (as we think) may securely continue it as it is; for all we that are of the Army, whom it most concerneth (in regard we live wholly upon our entertainment), will (God willing) indure it, for the advancement of the service, though

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we are sensible of our losse, by the excessive enhauncing of the prices of all things that wee are to live upon, which cannot bee holpen so long as this new coyne continues currant. Of Tyrone since his overthrow and departure, we hetherto have heard little, neither doe we thinke hee will be able to doe any great harme, without the aide of new supplies from Spaine. And so wee humbly take leave, &c. From Corke, &c.

The same fifteenth day the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary in England this letter following.

Sir, this strange continuance of the windes in the West and the South, makes mee looke backe into the danger, that both her Majesties Army and Kingdome have passed: for if Sir Richard Levison with her Majesties Fleete had not taken the opportunitie of that winde, which did no more then bring him hether, and give the rest of the supplies (with great difficultie) their passage from other ports to us, no doubt by these contrary windes (from that time to this day continuing) all the affaires of her Majestie here had been in an extreame hazard. And when I consider; first, that in all likelihood we could expect no lesse then a powerful supply out of Spaine, and that the greater, the more the King should find himself ingaged, and his Army stand in need of seconding, except he might be in time advertised of this overture we have made here, to disimbarke himself fairely of an enterprize, which I presume his Ministers here do beleieve, and will perswade him to be unfit any longer to imbrace. Then, that the winds have been such, as have onely served to carry him the danger of his men here, and not the peace which they have made (for since Syriago his departure, which was presently after the overthrow, Don Jean de l' Aguyla was never able to send away any dispatch, which we may hope to be arrived in Spaine.) And lastly, that we have credible intelligence of the Kings resolution and forwardnesse, to send his men here strong and speedy succours. When I consider these things, I cannot but feare a heavy warre to bee towards

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Deputy's
Letter to
Master
Secretary.*

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Deputy's
Letter to
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us, which (as I doe constantly beleeeve) had been prevented, if it had pleased God to send us a winde in any time to have sent away these Spaniards, or at the least the assured relation of their estates. Thus the continuance of contrary winds in these parts, doth make me apprehend the extreame perils, wherewith her Majesty shall be driven to make the warre in this Country with extreame charge, if the Spaniards persever in their purpose: for without huge Magazins, great waste and continuall charge of shipping, and land carriages, such a warre cannot be made, and I am perswaded that her Majesty were as good give over at the first the defence of this country, as to intend a war, without making those provisions for it. Now as my love to her & to her service doth make me as sensible (I wil boldly protest), as any man living of whatsoever burthen the state doth feele, so the same love shuld make me suffer with alacrity the waight of my uneasie charge, & the dangerous waies wherein I walke, if I did not perceiue the poore Asse to be the worse liked, that he doth carry so much treasure from her cofers, howsoever he doe unwillingly beare it away, and feeleth nothing but the heavy burthen thereof. This, and some inclination that I have found, to measure my labours by the succeſse, not by my endeavours, have (I confesse) more discouraged me, then all the difficulties I ever passed, or may expect: And saving the thankefulness, which I cannot chuse but yeeld unto God, for the succeſse which it hath pleased him of late to give me, I protest I was never accompanied with more unquiet thoughts, then since my last comming to Corke, where I continue in a most noysome Towne, full of infection, seeing no end of my labours, nor finding any measure of them, and yet fearing that they are valued of so little merit, as they are rather likely to draw on dislike. Wherefore as in my owne heart I doe utterly distaste this unhappy profession, with no further ambition then to set downe in quietnesse under mine owne Vine, with the conscience of having beene no unprofitable servant to her Majesty, so Sir (I

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*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to
Master
Secretary.*

vow before God) I will acknowledge it an everlasting bond, if you will be a meane, to procure me that harmlesse fortune, that I may (as above all things I desire) serve her Majesty henceforward, with as pure, as I will ever doe with faithfull devotion, and make my selfe ready for another World, for I thanke God I doe hate this. Blame me not (I beseech you Sir) for apprehending my fortune with so much discomfort, since I doe not onely perceive what enemies I have, that are ingenious and industrious to urge all my proceeding to my disadvantage, but find that their malice did take such effect with her Majesty, as to move her to be unsatisfied with my endeavours, wherein my owne conscience cannot acknowledge any thing omitted within my power, or belonging to my duty, whatsoever the successe had beene. Sir as I never deserved any ill of them by deed, (except it be by doing her Majesty better service then they can or will doe), nor by word, (for I doe not thinke or speake of them, but when these tokens of their good will doe force mee unto it), so I protest, I doe as much scorne their malice, as the barking of so many whelpes, and would be little troubled with it. But when I thinke that their false evidence doth sway the opinion of my supream Judge, in the title of her favour and my desert, and doe remember how doubtfull the fortune of the warre is, I cannot but feare, that one disaster shall be put into the ballence against all my labours and endeavours; and therewithall conclude and confesse, that I covet no mortall fortune more, then to bee fairely rid of the part which I play on so dangerous a stage, before these serpents may find any advantage to hisse at me. Whereas otherwise if I had beene secure of her Majesties favour against these Vipers tongues, I should with confidence and alacrity goe towards the greatest dangers that can rise against me: but as God hath hitherto stopped their mouths, so I hope, for her Majesties good, (if not for mine) he will continue his favour, who prosper me in all things, as I doe sincerely intend her service, &c.

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The eighteenth day the Lord Deputy received letters from the Lords in England, signifying that besides the two thousand last sent, the greatest part under Captaines, the rest left to his Lordships disposall, now upon a second leavy two thousand more were appointed to bee embarked the sixe and twentieth of the last moneth, all which were left to his Lordships disposall, excepting one Company given to Captaine Thomas Dutton, upon his Lordships letters of speciall recommendation.

The same day his Lordship received from the Queene this following letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

*Letter to the
Lord Deputy
from the
Queene.*

Right trusty and wellbeloved, we greet you well; The report which your letters by Davers have brought us, of the successe it hath pleased God to give you against our Rebels, and the Spaniards combined with them, was received by us with such contentment, as so great & happy an accident could afford: Wherefore although we (as ever we have done in all other happinesse which hath befallen us), ascribe the highest praise and thanks to his divine Majesty; yet forasmuch as wee doe accompt that they who are the servants of our State in like actions, are made participant, (in a second degree) of his favour bestowed upon us, by their vertue and industry, wee cannot but hold them worthy of thanks from us, as they have received honour from him. Among whom, you being there the chiefe, (not onely as chiefly put in trust by us, but as we plainly perceive, in vigilancy, in labour, and in valour, in this late action), wee could not forbear to let you see, how sensible we are of this your merit. It is true, that before this good successe upon the Rebels, wee were in daily attention, to have heard of some quicker attempt upon the Towne (then any was made), both in respect that your owne Letters tended to such sence, and especially because protraction of time brought with it apparant dangers, as well of accesse of new supplies from our forraine enemies, as of defection of a people, so

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*The Queen's
Letter.*

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unconstant of disposition, and so rebellious to government, as those of that nation ever have beene. But wee that time having understood by those journals (which were committed to S^t Johns and Davers), some reasons which have moved you to the course you have taken, rather then to have used speed in attempting, seeing all assaults are accompanied with losse, and every losse (in such a time) multiplied in rumour, and wholly converted by practice, to the prejudice of the cause in question, which is maintained (now as things doe stand), by the reputation of your army, wee doe now conceive that all your workes have had their foundation upon such reasons as you thought most advantagious for our service. It remaineth therefore now (and so we desire it may be made knowne to our Army, that have served under you, in such manner as you shall thinke best to expresse it), that as we doe know they have indured many incommodities in this siege, (which wee would have beene glad they could have avoided, having made so good prooffe of their valour and loyalty, as they have done at this time, so as we rather seeke to preserve them, as the best treasure of a Prince, then to suffer them to wast, if otherwise our Kingdome could have beene kept from danger of forraigne conquest, and intestine rebellion), so we expect it at the hands of the better sort of our servitors there, that it shall well be infused into the minds of the rest, that whatsoever either our owne directions or expending of treasure could doe, (for prevention of those difficulties, which follow all armies, and are inseperable where the warre is made in a climate so il tempered for a winters siege) hath beene royally and providently afforded them. A matter of much more charge and uncertainty, because all our care and direction have attended the winds and weathers curtesie. To conclude with answere to your demands for further supplies of men. Although wee hope that the time is so neere of the finall conclusion of your happy successe against the remnant of the strangers in that poore Towne, being pressed with so many wants,

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and with the dispaire which our late victory will adde hereunto, as that hardly any supplies sent from us can come, before it have taken effect; yet because you may perceiue how much wee attribute to your judgement in any thing which for our affaires is there desired, we have (as by our Counsell hath beene signified unto you) given order for foure thousand men to be sent thither out of hand, with the full proportion of munition which you desire. In which kind of provisions we find so great consumptions, as we must require you to take some better order with them that have the distribution thereof. For if it bee observed what quantities have beene daily sent over, and yet what daily wants are pretended, the expence will bee found insupportable, and so much the rather, because all men know, that whatsoever the Irish Companies receive, (except now in this action) is continually converted for money to the use of the Rebels. Given under our Signet, at our Pallace at White-Hall, the 44 yeere of our Raigne, the twelfth of January 1601.

*These words
were written
in the Queenes
owne hand.*

In the beginning of this Letter, above the Queenes hand signed, these following words were overwritten by the Queenes owne hand, viz. Though for feare of worse end, you did desire (as we confesse we once thought to direct) to end this worke, before either Enemy or Rebelle could increase the perill of our honour, yet wee hope that no such adventure shall bee more made, but that their confusion bee ere now lighted on their owne heads. And let Clanrickard and Thomond know, that we doe most thankfully accept their endeavours. For your selfe, we can but acknowledge your diligence, and dangerous adventure, and cherish and judge of you, as your carefull Sovereigne.

The twentieth of February, twenty Spanish Captaines with 1374 common Souldiers, being before imbarked at Kinsale, in six English ships, sailed for Spaine. The seven and twenty day the Lord Deputy and Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in England this following letter.

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May it please your Lordships, since our last dispatch the fifteenth hereof, 1400 of the Spaniards, that had lien aboard their shipping in the Harbour of Kinsale, to take advantage of the first favourable wind for Spaine, found the meanes to set forth with a very scant wind upon Sunday last, the twentieth of this present, so as now wee have ridde our selves of above 1600 by Pole, reckoning those which wee sent from Corke into England, being some two hundred, and these last numbers were truly mustered by one of our owne Commissaries. If our shipping could get about from Waterford, Wexford, and those Easterne Ports, (from whence onely two have yet recovered Kinsale, though all the rest have beene a good time ready, and some of them at Sea), we doubt not within foure or five daies wee should be able to dispatch away all the rest, though there remaine yet as great a number (the certainty whereof we doe not know). Capitaine Harvy, who was sent into the Westernne parts to ship away the Spaniards that were there, and to take possession of the places, is for certaine possessed of Castle Haven, and upon Friday last set forwards towards Baltimore, whereof by this time we make account he is possessed also, and that hee is busie sending away the Spaniards with the first wind, though we have not yet heard from him since his being there. On Friday last being the eighteenth, we received two packets from your Lordships, the one of the twelfth, the other of the 16 of the last moneth, and at the same time there came into this Harbour, five companies of foot, (whereof foure were under Captaines, namely, Davys, Holcroft, Bradbery, and Barker, and the other one hundred under the conduct of the three last). Good store of shipping came likewise in with victuals that day and the next, and on Sunday there arrived at Kinsale (about the time that the Spaniards left that Port) two Barkes laden with munition and artillery, working tooles, and such other things as we had written for, and your Lordships most carefully had provided, so as we have just cause, with all thankfulnessse, to acknow-

1400. of the
Spaniards set
forth for
Spaine.

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Good store of
shipping
arrive at
Kinsale.

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*A good force
to be kept in
the West parts
of Mounster.*

ledge that it hath pleased her Majesty and your Lordships to supply us as roially and plentifully as we desired; and that as your Lordships well note for our speciall comfort, your providence and care of us was such, as things necessary were in readinesse for our supplies, before you had notice from us that we had need of them. Wee are resolved, now that all those provisions are come, to keepe a good force in the West parts of this Province, which will both settle those that hitherto have stood wavering, and may besides prosecute those that have shewed themselves worst affected, while such places as are needfull may be fortified: For since (as wee signified by our last, upon the intercepting of certaine Spanish letters) there is great likelihood, that a new supply from Spaine will come speedily & strongly, if at all, it behoveth us to be in readinesse to intertaine them, by making the places knowne to them very strong, and to curbe the Townes by Cittadels, to be erected; otherwise they will revolt, and fall to the Spanish party, when they shall see them come strongly and well prepared. And for those foure thousand men which wee perceive your Lordships had appointed for us, we humbly leave it to your Lordships consideration, upon the sight of these letters out of Spaine which we send, whether you shall thinke fit to send them to us presently, or else have them there in such readinesse, as if any further supplies should arrive out of Spaine, we might in time make use of them here. The Companies that are come, are men well chosen and well appointed, their Armes good, and for ought yet we find, the men neither changed, nor the armes or apparell embezelled, and yet they have beene very strictly both viewed and mustered, before Commissioners specially appointed; and the like course we meane to take with the rest of them, if they doe come as your Lordships have appointed, which yet wee leave wholly to your Lordships, who can best judge what number is meetest for us, by the intelligence we send you, but especially by such as your Lordships receive from Spaine. And as for

*Well
appointed re-
inforcements.*

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those that in the conduction of the other men, abused themselves to her Majesties so great losse, we will doe the best to find out the truth and ground thereof, and informe you (as your Lordships have directed), and further will most carefully performe what else your Lordships in these letters have commanded. But where your Lordships conceive an omission in me the Deputy, that so many armes are lost here, I humbly answere, that being not able to looke unto these things my selfe, I gave commission to Master Marshall, Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Oliver S. Johns, to take the particular care and charge thereof, who being now not here, cannot relate what they have done, onely we remember wee have heard it alleadged, when the Captaines were charged with the Armes of their Companies, that their answere was, that some of the Souldiers ranne away with them, and some others assaying to make escape, were stripped both of their apparel & armes (which our selves saw to be true in many that were found & returned naked to the Campe), and the truth is, such as were not lost that way, nor spoiled and broken in the service, (as it cannot be denied but some were), some part were put over with the supplies to other Companies, (which were very few), and the rest could not be recovered from the cashered Captaines, who being in entertainment but a short time, had nothing due, whereout it might be defalked, but must answere it before your Lordships there in England, for from hence they went soone after they were discharged. The Captaines last come, (as others did before them), desire that their warrants of entry might beare date that day that your Lordships apointed them to be at the water side, to receive their Companies; and we acknowledge, we thinke in reason, they are to have it so, or else their imprest to be remitted, otherwise they have nothing to beare the charge of themselves and Officers from that time to their landing here, which is often times sixe weekes, or a month, in which time their imprest is usually spent; and if afterward it be defalked

*The losse of
armes.*

[II. ii. 200.]

*The
Captaines
warrants of
entry.*

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*The
Victualer's
issues.*

*High rates of
Oates.*

*Officers
offence.*

from them, they must all be so long without intertainment, and so unable to live. Wee humbly desire to know your Lordships pleasure herein, as we did formerly upon the like occasion, but hitherto have received no answer from your Lordships: We are further to signifie unto your Lordships, that the Victualer issues (as he saith by direction) but one pound and a halfe of beefe per diem, to a souldier, which is too little for him to live upon, and yet the rate in the victualing nothing abated, which is intollerable for him to beare, and likewise the Victualer thinks that he may not issue the Oates at a lower rate then 15 s. the quarter, which is seven shillings six pence the barrell, being so high a rate, as the Horseman out of his entertainment cannot allow so much for his horse, but by that meanes both the Horse will be starved, and the Oates will perish before they be spent. In time of plenty, the ordinary rate of Oates in Ireland, was but at twelve pence the barrell, yet they are now well content to pay six shillings a barrell, which is at the highest rate the Souldier can give. Of these particulars wee humbly pray redresse from your Lordships. And so, &c. From Corke, &c.

The first of March the Lord Deputy by letters from the Lords in England was required, to send over a Lieftenant, being one of the late cast Companies, but still remaining in Ireland, to the end he might answer before their Lordships certaine complaints made against him: For whereas many Officers in the late levies of men, had received in the Country able and sufficient men, as wel to serve under themselves, as to be conducted over to be disposed by the Lord Deputy, whereof they had for divers sums of money dismissed many at the Sea side, pretending that they were lame, or sicke, and that they had taken better men in their place, neither of these pretences being true. Their Lordships purposed to inflict some exemplary punishment for this great offence, and therefore required this Lieftenant to be sent over, who was accused among and above the rest.

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The eight of March Sir Oliver S. Johns, (who was sent into England from Kinsale with newes of the good successe in the taking of Rincoran and Nyparke Castles, and the happy repulse of the Spaniards sallying upon our Cannon), returned backe to Corke, and brought from the Queene this following letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. By the gentlemans relation whom last you sent unto us, and by your Letters, we received (with much contentment) the newes of the rendition of Kinsale, and other places held by the Spaniards in that Kingdome: wherein although by comparing the same with those reports which were brought us by divers, that they were not onely in misery for victuall, but in penury of men, as not being five hundred strong, we conceived that you might have given them stricter lawes in their composition, (and so doe now perceive how easie a matter it is, for those that are neerer hand to the matters of warre then we are, to be mistaken), yet upon those considerations which we have observed in your journall last sent over, containing many important circumstances, which did leade you to that course, amongst which no one hath so much moved us, as that assault would have shed the blood of our subjects, which is dearer to us then any revenge or glory), we doe account it both in the successe, one of the most acceptable accidents that hath befallen us, and in your carriage thereof discerne it to have beene guided with as many parts of an able and provident Minister, as any we have used in service of like nature. And therefore hold it both just and necessary for us to yeeld you this testimony of our gracious acceptation of your endeavours, which have beene accompanied with so much paine and perill. It remaineth now, seeing the state of all things there, and your owne desires doe require it, that wee speake something of those things which are fit to be thought of for the time to come, whereof seeing this

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the Queene to
the Lord
Deputy.*

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event hath both already begun, and is very like to worke great alteration to our advantage. That which we could wish you to aime at, is in sum (next to the safety of the Kingdome) to give all possible ease to our State, by diminishing that great consumption of treasure, which of late yeeres wee have sustained. And yet how to direct precisely by what meanes and parcels in every particular the same is to be done, is very hard for us at this present, especially untill we shall receive from you and our Counsell there further light, by the information of the state of all things now after these successes, together with your owne opinion thereupon, onely as it is apparant to us already by your letter, that in your own judgement, having due sence of the infinite inconveniences which daily are multiplid uppon this Kingdome by that occasion, you did immediatly after the rendition, both cast some part of our Army there, and stay the supplies comming from hence, so in that course we doubt not, but you doe and will continue, as farre forth as things may beare it, in taking care that our Army be not weakened by holding more small garrisons then are necessary. And this we may with very good reason say, out of observation of that which hath passed of latter yeeres, and agreeable to your owne opinion. That one charge there is very great to us, and yet without any manner of ground of safety, if there were cause of adventure, and that is the enter-tainment of great numbers of Irish, wherein we will note unto you these two considerations: First that when things there, were at most hazard for us, your owne spirit was doubtfull of the service which might be reaped by them. Secondly that heretofore, when they have beene used, it hath not beene seene, that either they were entertained at the same rate of pay with our owne Nation, or so mixed in common with them in regiments, but ever kept more apart, both in companies severall, and used in places and in services proper for them, which course although this extraordinary danger of our Kingdome hath given occasion to dispence with, yet doubt we not but

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the Queene to
the Lord
Deputy.*

in your owne conceit you will thinke it meet, with all convenient speed to reforme, and give beginning to it, by such degrees of diminution, and in such measure, as you shall find to be most for the good of our service.

For the matter which hath beene moved to you from the Arch-traitor, we commend your handling of the offer, in that you have kept the dignity of the place you hold, and therein ours, and yet we doe not mislike, that you did not so desperately reject him, as to conclude him thereby from opening the further scope of his desires. And though till the next overture, we have little more to write unto you, yet we may say thus much in generality, that the monstrosnesse of his fact, stained with so many and deepe spots of offences of severall natures and degrees, (though none more odious then his ingratitude); and the quicke sence we have alwaies of the blemishing of our honour, doth not permit us to hold any other way with him, then the plaine way of perdition. And therefore doe advise you to all courses, that may winne us glory upon him, and if our Armes must be accompanied with any part of mercy, rather to imploy the same in receiving the secondary members and Vriaghts from him, by whom that life which is left him standeth, then to make so much account of so vile an head, as to thinke him worthy to be recovered; but rather that abandoned of God and men, he may be left to feele the just reward of his foule demerits. Notwithstanding, we will not mislike to heare from you againe what you have further discovered, and guide our further resolution according to occasions. Hereupon we have thought good to returne this gentleman Sir Oliver S. Johns to you, with thus much of our mind upon your late letters, and with such other matters as from our Counsell he may have in charge to impart unto you, being one, of whose good discretion and affection to our service we are very well perswaded, to the end that upon his arrivall, (by which time much will be seene of the event of your late happy successe) you may enter into some solid consideration of the forme of

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*Sir Oliver S.
John.*

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*Letter from
the Queene to
the Lord
Deputy.*

gouvernement hereafter to be held, of the proportions of our army to be continued, and of all things that may be likely to settle that State in safety from forraigne attempts, and in a better obedience to us then heretofore. When you have debated and resolved what seemeth good to you there, uppon all such points, we can be then contented that you send backe this gentleman hether againe, instructed therewith. And because it will be also needfull for the furtherance of our resolutions here, to have good understanding of the civill parts of that gouvernement, as well as of the martiall, and that sute hath beene made unto us for Sir Robert Gardener our chiefe Justice there, to be licensed to come hither, we shall like well that you send them both, to the end that upon their report of your conceits there, we may enter into more particular consideration of all things incident, which upon their arrivall wee shall be better able to doe. Given under our Signet, at our Pallace of Westminster, the eight day of February 1601. in the foure and fortieth yeere of our raigne.

The same day Sir Oliver S. Johns brought from the Lords in England this following letter to the Lord Deputy.

*Letter from
the Lords in
England.*

After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we have had (in most of our late dispatches) so little cause to fill our papers with anything, but with commendations of your Lordships wise proceedings, and congratulations for her Majesties happy successe under you, as at this time (if any other) we intended not to mixe this acknowledgement of our extraordinary contentment for your late victory against the Spaniards, with any other particular directions, especially seeing the change you have made in that Countrey, by freeing the same from forraigne power, (howsoever infested still with an intestine rebellion), must (in all mens knowledge, that are acquainted with the affaires of State) have brought so many changes, as we can hardly tell what advice or direc-

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND

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1601.

tion to offer of new, untill we may receive from thence some further light of the present State of that Kingdome from you, whose owne eye and judgement is neerest, and ablest to performe the same. In which consideration, seeing it hath pleased her Majesty by her owne letters, not onely to give you notice of her royall and gracious acceptation of your so noble endeavours, but to direct your Lordship also to send over hether Sir Robert Gardener, and this gentleman Sir Oliver S. Johns, with relation of all particulars fit for her knowledge, we will in expectation hereof forbear to enlarge our letter any further, then with our best wishes to your Lordship of all perfect health and happinesse, as those that will ever be found, &c.

The same eight day Don Jean and the remaine of the Spaniards at Kinsale, were all embarked ready to be gone. The next morning the Lord Deputy left Corke, and taking his journey towards Dublyn, arrived that night at Yoghall.

*Don Jean
embarked for
Spaine.*

And because the stormy weather and contrary winds, kept the Spaniards still in the Port at Kinsale, his Lordship was forced to stay in that Towne some few daies, from whence he wrote to Master Secretary into England, upon the twelfth of March, advertising him thereof: And further giving him notice, that the other Spaniards which were at Beere-Haven, Castle-Haven, and Baltimore, now were gone for Spaine. That Don Jean had sent to Corke the pledges promised in the eight article of the agreement. That five English Companies were lately arrived at Waterford: And lastly, praying to be excused to the rest of the Lords of her Majesties Counsell, that hee forbare to write unto them, till he came to Waterford, where within few daies he hoped to meete the Earle of Ormond, and some other of the Counsell, and upon conference with them, to bee better able to satisfie their Lordships in some things concerning the present State of this Kingdome, according to her Majesties pleasure lately signified to him by her letters. The pledges above

*The other
Spaniards
gone for
Spaine.*

[II. ii. 203.]

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The pledges
from the
Spaniards.*

mentioned were to lie for the safe returne of our ships, wherein the Spaniards were embarked.

These pledges were principall Commanders, and among them was one Captaine Moryson, (of whose bold service mention is made in the sally upon the second of December). This gentleman was invited by the Lord Deputy to accompany him to Dublin, the rest of his fellowes still remaining at Corke, whether hee was to returne unto them, and they together to be shipped for Spaine, upon the safe returne of our ships. In which journey to Dublyn, and during this Gentlemans aboard there, I had familiar conference with him for names sake, and understood from him, that his Family in Spaine was discended of an English Gentleman, who followed the Emperour Charles the fifth in his warres, and after by his bounty was seated in Spaine, where at this day the chiefe of his name had good revenues.

*Captaine
Moryson's
discent.*

The Lord Deputy being come to Waterford, did write, together with the rest of the Counsell, upon the eighteenth of March, this following letter to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships: The eighth hereof, wee received by Sir Oliver S. Johns at Corke, the dispatch which it pleased your Lordships to make by him, and may not omit with all humble thankfulnessse to acknowledge the great comfort and contentment we have taken, in that it appeareth both thereby, and by the relation of Sir Oliver, that her Majesty and your Lordships have most graciously and favourably accepted and allowed our poore endeavours. We are most carefull (as you have directed) to send Sir Robert Gardener and him unto your Lordships, so soone as I the Deputy can get to Dublyn, where Sir Robert Gardener now is, and shall have considered and debated with the Counsell there the businesse, wherein your Lordships looke to be thorowly informed. In the meane space, because that will aske some time, wee have thought fit to acquaint your Lordships, how

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1601.

*Letter to the
Lords in Eng-
land, March
18, 1601.*

things stand here since our last dispatch. The Spaniards for certaine are all gone from Beere-Haven, Castle-Haven, & Baltimore, and that day that Sir Oliver S. Johns did arrive at Corke, we heard that all the Spaniards at Kinsale, and last of all Don Jean himselfe, were shipped, and in readinesse to set saile, but since we heare that untill Saturday the thirteenth hereof, they could not get forth the Harbour, and were that night beaten backe. On Sunday they were ready to set out againe, since which time we have not heard from thence, more then that they lay aboard in the mouth of the Harbour, and our men were possessed of the Towne, and we have observed the wind since that time to be good for them, so as wee are in good hope they are all gone. The pledges, according to agreement were come to Corke, being three Captaines of long continuance, so as we have cause to thinke Don Jean hath dealt sincerely with us, and are not out of hope, to be no more troubled with any Spaniards: yet to be provided for the worst that may happen, so long as the Spanish Cloud hangs over us, wee have devided both the victuals and great part of the munition into sundry Harbours, along the Sea Coast of this Province, the more ready to answere all occasions, as may more fully appeare by the notes wee send herewithin: If by this meanes her Majesties charge grow great, (as wee cannot but acknowledge it will), and the service North ward goe on slowlier then it would otherwise, if we might apply our selves wholly that way, we beseech your Lordships favourably to consider the necessities that leade us thereunto, least leaving any place unprovided for, the facilitie should invite a comming thither, and in that regard wee have given out an intention, to fortifie in all the severall places of Beer-haven, Castle-haven, Baltimore, and the Creekes & passages along that Coast. Whereas these Spaniards being gone, as now God be thanked they are, we have no meaning so to doe, in regard we have no answere from your Lordships touching that point, and thereby conceive, that her Majesty wil not undergo so great a charge,

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Letter to the
Lords in Eng-
land, March
18, 1601.*

[II. ii. 204.]

though we continue stil of this opinion, that it were the safest course to fortifie in those places: and if the Spaniards should come againe, without strong Forts and Cittadels upon the chiefe townes, (whom our late experience shewed us apparantly to be wavering), we can neither have safetie for retreate, if any disaster should befall us, nor commoditie for victuals and munition, but that altogether would be in danger, & the whole hazarded or loste at an instant; which point we hold our selves bound in dutie to provide for; and therefore if her Majestie do not like to make Cittadels in these Townes and Cities, which we noted to be fit in our former letters, we hold it of very great necessitie that the harbors of Corke & Kinsale be yet wel fortified, which we have already begun to do at Kinsale, & have viewed the mouth of the harbour of Corke, where by raising one good Fort at the entry, and another upon an Iland in that River, the Harbour will very aptly be secured, and all victuals and munition for our use most commodiously defended against all enemies, which we hold a matter of very great importance. And if these workes shall be erected, ten Culverings, and ten demy-culverings of Iron, mounted upon unshod wheeles, for platformes to bee placed in the Forts, to bee made in those two harbours, must forthwith be sent (with bullets for them), either to Corke, or to Kinsale. Our whole store of victuals being divided into sundry parts of this Province, (as by this note appeareth), we are in doubt wee shall want when wee enter into a prosecution Northward, unlesse your Lordships be pleased to continue that course for our supplies, that we confesse you have most providently hitherto afforded us: for where some conceive, and (as it seemeth) have informed, that we may be furnished here with victuals, it is to us most strange, and past all beleefe, and to make it more apparant unto your Lordships, it may please you to consider, that it is impossible to make an end of this warre without wasting and spoiling of the Countrie. This (as we must doe still) wee have of long time very earnestly laboured,

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1601.

*Letter to the
Lords in Eng-
land, March
18, 1601.*

and effected in as great a measure as we can possibly devise, and then how can it in reason be thought, that wee can starve the Rebell, and yet preserve victuals in the country for the souldier? so as we must conclude, that if we faile once of our victualing out of England, upon hope to have it found in this Realme, by any mans understanding, the Army will either be starved, or driven to breake upon a sudden, when it will not be in our power to helpe it, and this wee beseech your Lordships to beleieve, if we have made any use of our experience here. Yet if there be any possibilitie thereof, when wee have conferred what may bee provided out of the Pale, and quietest parts of Mounster, wee will further certifie your Lordships. And besides we doe apparantly foresee, now that the apparrelling of the souldier is left unto the Captaine (which yet best contents all parties), that if the exchanging of the new coyne be not Royally kept up, the souldier will be in worse case then before. For all things here are already growne so deare and scarce, since the new coine went currant, as clothes are both excessively deare here, and in any quantity not to be had for money, but must necessarily bee provided in England, and brought hither, which cannot be, if the exchange faile never so little; for then will the souldier be unclothed, which rather then he will indure, he will runne away, though he be sure to be hanged, and this we feare will be likewise a meane for the breaking of the Army. The decaies by sicknesse and otherwise are already so great, notwithstanding all that wee can doe (and yet we have not been wanting in our providency), as wee most humbly crave to have supplies sent from time to time (till the rebellion be broken, which if no forraigne forces arrive, we hope will be in short time), not under Captaines but Conductors, for we find by experience that the Captaines that are sent hither with their Companies (conceiving that they shall not stand long) either by negligence or corruption, loose their men, so that when they are turned over to supply others, scarce ten of a hundred can be had of

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1601.

*Letter to the
Lords in Eng-
land, March
18, 1601.*

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[II. ii. 205.]

them, where at the first comming over with the Conductors, we can better call then to a strict account, and finde the men, to fill up other Companies, by disposing them to such as we know will best preserve them, so as they neede not reinforce their Companies with the Irish, as they will when they cannot come by English, by which meanes the Companies (wee confesse) are full of Irish, which till our supplies come cannot well be holpen. And whereas I the Deputie have ever bin (as my dutie is) most desirous to diminish her Majesties Lyst, and to that end, not onely have taken all occasions by the death of Captaines to extinguish their entertainment, but also have meerely discharged above five thousand since November 1600. Now the Captaines and men thus discharged, thinking their fortunes overthrowne by me, had never consideration of the necessitie imposed upon me to do it, but onely looking upon their owne losse, and (as they esteeme it) disgrace, they become so many enemies to me, & many of them clamorous against me & my proceedings. And whereas by some of your L^{ps} letters it pleased you to let me know, that your sending many Captaines proceedeth from my recommending of many unto you. I do humbly assure your L^{ps}, that almost all which came over were strangers to me; & if the rest have had letters from me, I wrote them at their request, onely to testifie that they had behaved themselves no otherwise then honestly here, which was the least I could afford them, when I was forced to take away their Companies. But if her Majestie expect an abatement of her Lyst, I beseech your L^{ps}. to consider my hard condition. For if I discharge such as you send over, I doe not onely become odious unto them, but offend many of your Lordships, by whose favour they obtained that charge. And if I discharge such old Captaines as I found here, and of whose sufficiency I have since had continuall experience, by their often adventuring their bloud and lives, I should not onely returne unto her Majestie importunate sutors, armed with good justice to crave

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND

A.D.
1601.

*Letter to the
Lords in Eng-
land, March
18, 1601.*

reward, but my selfe should incurre the same and more just dislike of them and their friends. But that which for her Majesties service grieveth me most, is that I should thereby disenable my selfe, hereafter to doe her Majestie that service, which heretofore I have done, and next unto God must attribute to their valour and sufficiency. For touching the Irish, by whose discharge I meane to make no small abatement, I have heretofore laboured by unsensible degrees to diminish that charge, and I will chuse a fit time fully to effect it, the sudden doing whereof might cause rather an increase then decrease of her Majesties charge. We have lately recommended some of the incorporate Townes here to your Lordships, and may happily have occasion to doe the like, to draw them (if it might bee) to a more affectionate furtherance of the service, at the least to hold them with some contentment, though indeed they have not afforded us that helpe that they both might and ought. Yet our meaning was not thereby to presse your Lordships to any enlargement of their Franchises, for which happily they will thereupon be sutors; for we confesse truly to your Lordships, that we think these Corporate Townes in generall, have already too great and too many priviledges, and immunities, unlesse they better knew (or would more readily endeavour) to deserve them, which we thought meete at this time to give your Lordships a taste of, least they might otherwise make that use of our letters that we intended not. Further, we desire that your Lordships will perswade her Majestie to resolve presently to make Cittadels in the chiefest of these Townes, without which we shal never bring them to performe their duties. And so &c.

Don Jean (whether with or without authoritie given him from Spaine, I know not), had often discoursed with the Lord Deputy, during their abode together at Corke, that it was no unlikely or difficult worke to make Peace betweene England and Spaine, yea, he went so farre, as to urge the Lord Deputy to deale therein. But his

*No difficult
worke to make
Peace be-
twene Eng-
land and
Spaine.*

A.D.
1601.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Don Jean's
oathe.*

[II. ii. 206.]

*The Lord
Deputy ad-
vised Master
Secretary.*

Lordship onely made answer, that he knew her Majestie to be graciously inclined, to hold good amity with all Christian Princes, yet as she was confident in her owne power, so she was in all things jealous of her Honor, and especially in that point, wherein her Royall meaning had not bin intertained with the like, by the State of Spaine, whence we had received such ill measure in all our late treaties to that purpose, as all men were discouraged to be any more made instruments therein. Whereupon Don Jean sware unto his Lordship, that as he left the State of Spaine affected, upon his knowledge it was then a thing easie to effect, and a thing much desired of them, to have firme Peace betweene England and Spaine. And he further added, that if upon his arrivall in Spaine, finding things to stand in the same condition, he did (at the returne of our ships thence) give his Lordship any inckling thereof, then upon his reputation his Lordship dealing with the State of England in that matter, should loose no honour thereby. The Lord Deputie hitherto had done no more then answer Don Jeans proposition in civill tearmes, wherein hee had spoken no more, then any private man might lawfully have done, if he had licence to confer with him; yet lest he might be thought to have exceeded his Commission in this nice discourse, and having good reasons to imagine, that as God many times doth worke by unlikely, yea, by contrary meanes, so hee and Don Jean out of their Commission to make warre one upon the other, might prove Commissioners for making a Peace, his Lordship advertised thus much to Master Secretary in England, praying to have further warrant and instructions, if it were thought fit hee should further proceede therein. But by Don Jeans silence from Spaine, this overture passed as a dreame, and tooke no effect as long as the Queene lived.

The foure and twentieth day of March, being the last day (after the English writing) of the yeere 1601, the Lord Deputie and Counsell being at Kilkenny, and inter-

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND

A.D.
1601.

tained by the Earle of Ormond in his house, wrote this following letter to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships, having certaine intelligence since our comming to this place, that Don Jean with all the rest of the Spaniards, departed from Kinsale on Tuesday the 16 hereof, and that the wind since that time hath served them so well, as we assure our selves by this they are neere the Coast of Spaine, wee thought fit hereby to give your Lordships notice therof, that you may know we are free now of them all. Since our being here, there hath been brought in a notorious rebell, one William Mac Hubbard, lately taken in Upperossery, who of late hath done great spoiles and murders in these parts, more then any other, so as we have caused him to bee executed in this Towne, to the great terror of many. About the same time that he was executed, a sonne of Garret Mac Mortaghes, named Moris Mac Garret, died of a hurt lately given him in fight, who was a most dangerous young man, like to trouble all the Countrie. The death of these two Rebels, as also of a notorious Rebell by birth of Mounster, lately slaine (called Dermot Mac Awlye, who was an inward man, and a great practising instrument with Tyrone) will greatly quiet all these parts, and your Lordships can hardly thinke what a great change wee finde already by their so happy and timely cutting off. And as for Sir Fynneen O Dryscoll, O Donnevan, and the two sonnes of Sir Owen Mac Carty, they and their followers since their comming in are growne very odious to the rebels of those parts, and are so well divided in factions among themselves, as they are fallen to preying and killing one another, which we conceive will much availe to the quieting of these parts. I the Deputy am this day going towards Dublin, from whence your L^{re} shall heare from me, according to the directions given me by your Lordships. And I the President am returning into Mounster, to attend my charge there. We have been much importuned by the Army in generall,

*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to the
Lords in Eng-
land, March
24, 1601.*

A.D.
1601.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The Army's
grievance.*

touching an abatement of halfe a pound of beefe upon every flesh day from every particular souldier, and of two hearings every fish day, and the horse troopes likewise find themselves grieved, that the victualer chargeth them with two shillings sixe pence increase in the issuing of every barrell of Oates, without any other warrant then a privat letter from M. Wade Clerke of the Counsel, which although we conceive M. Wade hath signified over upon some such purpose of your Lord^{ps}, or other good ground, yet in regard of the importunities of the Captaines, and to prevent a generall mutiny of the Army, in regard the souldiers are weak, and much infeebled by the late siege of Kinsale, and that the prises of all things are increased above all measure, by reason of the new standard coyne, and that the Country is generally much harryed and wasted, and thereby great scarcitie and wants grow here, wee hold it meete, and accordingly gave direction to the Commissary of the victuals, to issue Oates (as formerly) at sixe shillings the barrell, and allow the souldier two pound of beefe, and eight herings a day, according as it was formerly accustomed, till your Lordships resolution were returned in that behalfe, which we humbly pray and expect. And so having no other matter at this time worthy the presenting to your Lordships, wee most humbly take leave, &c.

[II. ii. 207.]

*Sickness of
the Lord
Deputie.*

The Lord President having accompanied the Lord Deputie to Kilkenny, did from thence returne to his charge in the Province of Mounster. At Kilkenny the Lord Deputie began to feele himselfe sickly, having formerly complained of some distemper (a likely effect of his watchings and cold taken, during the hard winter-siege at Kinsale), and his Lordships sicknesse so grew upon him, as the next day he was carried in a Horse-litter, and so all the journey, till he came to Dublin, where hee arrived the eight and twentieth of March, in the beginning of the yeere 1602, and his distemper stil continuing, applied himselfe to take Phisicke. I will conclude the Acts of the yeere past with this following

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND

A.D.
1601.

abstract of her Majesties charge in the Realme of Ireland, from the first of Aprill 1601, to the nine and twentieth of March, 1602.

*Abstract of
her Majesties
charge in Ire-
land from
April 1,
1601, to
March 29,
1602.*

The Totall of all charges aswell in the Establishment, as by other warrants extraordinary, two hundred eighty three thousand six hundred seventy three pound nineteene shillings eleven pence halfe farthing.

Viz. In the new coyne mixed ready money, two hundred fifteene thousand eight hundred fifty pound nineteene shillings foure pence halfe penny.

In apparrell for the souldiers, provided in England with silver money, sixtie seven thousand eight hundred twenty three pound six pence halfe penny halfe farthing.

Checqued by the Muster-Master, in money fifteene thousand one hundred fortie nine pound six shillings; in apparrell, twenty two thousand foure hundred fifty seven pound six shillings two pence halfe penny.

So her Majesties whole charge is in the yeere 1601, two hundred fortie six thousand eightie seven pound seven shillings eight pence halfe penny halfe farthing.

*Totall
246,087 li.
7s. 8d.*

Besides the concordatums, billes imprested upon accounts here, the leavies and transporting of forces (paied in England), the paiement of works, and the charges of the Office of the Ordinance, for Powder, Bullets, &c.

[The third Booke

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Of the prosecution of the warre by the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy, against the rebels, in the yeere 1602.

*The Lord
Deputies
indisposition.*



IN the beginning of the yeere 1602 for the latter part of March, and good part of Aprill, the Lord Deputies indisposition of body above mentioned, did still continue, and his Lordship for a short time attended nothing, but the recovery of his health. Onely on the one and thirtieth

of March, hee signified to the Lords in England, that from the sixteenth of March, when the Spaniards set sayle from Kinsale, the winde had continued so favourable, as he nothing doubted but they were arrived in Spaine. And his Lordship advertised the state of his weake health, and prayed to bee excused, that he could not as yet consider with the Counsell here, about the dispatch of Sir Robert Gardner, and Sir Oliver S. Johns, with the relation of this Kingdomes present estate, according to the directions he had formerly received to that purpose, which he was carefull to do so soone as health would permit him. Adding that in the meane time the forces were so disposed, as they might bee most active in the prosecution of Tyrone, and his broken partakers. And the Lord Deputy having intelligence, that after the knowledge of

[II. iii. 208.]

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND

A.D.
1602.

his and Don Jeans agreement, the preparations of seconds in Spaine were diverted, and so not fearing any interruptions by forraigne forces, was bold to give the Lords in England confidence of his future endeavours in his charge, whereof he hoped to give her Majestie a good account, God pleasing to restore his health, so as he might proceede with that speede and alacritie which he intended.

Forraigne interruptions not feared.

The third of Aprill his Lordship received letters from the Lords in England, signifying; That they concurred with him in grieffe, that by contrarie windes staying the Spaniards transporting, his Lordship was forced to stay in Mounster, and slacke the opportunitie of prosecuting Tyrone at his first returne and flight out of Mounster, when he was in such plight, as hee could faine no hopes of safety to himselfe, lying in some fastnesse or other, and often changing his abode, for feare of some attempt against his person set at a price, and still having neither Powder nor Leade, but making infinite meanes into Scotland to be furnished therewith, so as if the Northerne Garrisons were not weake for want of supplies, and if some forces could have been spared to strengthen them, in all probability they might have ruined Tyrone ere this. That our ships transporting the Spaniards, were well used in Spaine, and upon their arrivall, the ships prepared at the Groyne for Ireland were presently unfurnished, so as her Majesties Fleete, and some ships of the Low Countries lying this Summer on the Coast of Spaine, they conceived all Spanish aides for Ireland would for the present be diverted. That for Cittadels to be built in the Townes and Ports, her Majesty in general allowed thereof, leaving the choise of most fit places, and the manner of building to his Lordship, as also to certifie an estimate of the charge, and the best meanes to raise it otherwise then out of her Majesties coffers. That her Majestie commended the discrete intercepting of the Spanish letters, by which the Kings earnestnesse to follow that enterprise appeared, but no doubt by the English Fleete prepared for that coast would be diverted. That

Tyrone's plight.

Cittadels to be built.

A.D.
1602.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Employment of
Irish Com-
panies.*

no supplies should be expected out of England, where the leavyes had been so burthensome, as for the present it was fit to forbear them. That in all grants to the submitting rebels, they required his Lordship to have care, that they were not so absolute, as they should not be in awe of the State, or bee able to tyrannise over their neighbours, and particularly that any treason of the Pattentees should forfeit all the grant. That Irish Companies should not bee employed neere their owne home, especially in any great numbers, neither should have any pay for apparrell, there being no reason that their pay should bee equall to that of the English. Lastly, to the end the Submitties might not abuse her Majesties mercy to their temporising ends, as they had often done, by revolts into rebellion after submissions and Protections, their Lordships required, that as every chiefe rebell was taken in, so they should be disarmed.

But this last point was not effected for this consideration, that by that meanes every chiefe Lord upon submission should leave his Country without defence, and open to be spoiled, both by neighbouring rebels, and theevish subjects. It is true, that after all the warre fully ended, a generall disarming had been requisite, but the event will shew, how that was after neglected in the proper time (when the first act was, casting the English forces), which now was pressed, when there was no possibilitie to effect it.

*The Lyst of
the forces in
Aprill, 1602.*

The Lyst of the forces in Aprill, 1602.

Colonels of the Army, 14.

The Earle of Clanrickard. The Earle of Thomond. The Lord Audley. Sir Henry Dockwra. Sir Samuel Bagnol. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence. Sir Arthur Chichester. Sir Richard Moryson. Sir Charles Willmot. Sir Richard Percy. Sir Oliver Saint John. Sir Henrie Power. Sir Henry Follyot. Sir Benjamin Berry.

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND

A.D.
1602.

The forces in Mounster of Horse.

Mounster.

The Lord President, 100. The Earle of Thomond, 100. Sir Charles Willmott, 25. Sir Anthony Cooke, 50. Capitaine Taffe, 50. Horse 325.

Foote in Mounster.

[II. iii. 209.]

The Lord President, 200. The Earle of Thomond, 200. The Lord Barry, 100. The Lord Audley, 150. Sir Charles Willmott, 150. Sir George Cary, Treasurer, 100. Sir George Thorneton, 100. Sir Garret Harvie, 150. Sir Richard Percy, 150. Sir Francis Barkely, 150. Sir John Dowdall, 100. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir Anthony Cooke, 100. Sir Alexander Clifford, 100. Sir Arthur Savage, 150. The Earle of Desmond, 100. The White Knight, 100. Capitaine Roger Harvy, 150. Capitaine Flower, 150. Capitaine Saxey, 100. Capitaine Slingsbye, 100. Capitaine Skipwith, 100. Capitaine Hobby, 100. Capitaine Francis Kinsmell, 150. Capitaine Power, 100. Capitaine George Kinsmell, 100. Capitaine Cullom, 100. Capitaine Bostock, 100. Capitaine Gawen Harvie, 100. Capitaine Coote, 100. Capitaine Stafford, 100. Capitaine Owslye, 100. Capitaine Blundell, 100. Capitaine Dorrington, 100. Capitaine Sidley, 100. Capitaine Boys, 100. Capitaine Holcroft, 100. Foote, 4400.

Horse in Connaght.

Connaght.

The Earle of Clanricard, 50. Sir Oliver Lambert, 25. Sir Oliver Saint Johns, 25. Capitaine Wayeman Marshall, 12. Horse, 112.

Foote in Connaght.

Sir Oliver Lambert Governour, 150. Earle of Clanrickard, 150. Sir Thomas Bourke, 150. Sir Oliver Saint Johns, 200. Capitaine Tibbot Bourke, called Tibot ne long, 100. Capitaine Malby, 150. Capitaine Thomas Bourke, 100. Capitaine Ghest, 150. Capitaine Rotheram, 150. Capitaine May, 100. Voide for the Judges pay, 100. Capitaine Clare, 150. Foote, 1650.

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*Garrisons in
Lemster.*

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The forces lying Southward upon Lemster in Garrisons.

Horse at Ophaly Leax and Kilkenny.

Earle of Kildare, 25. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Master Marshall, 20. Captaine Piggot, 12. The Earle of Ormond, 50. Horse, 119.

Foote at Ophaly Leax and Kilkenny.

The Earle of Kildare, 150. Sir George Bourcher, 100. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir Henrie Warren, 100. Captaine O Carroll, 100. Sir Henry Power, 150. Sir Francis Rush, 150. Sir Thomas Loftus, 100. The Earle of Ormond, 150. Foote, 1100.

The forces lying Northward upon Lemster in Garrisons.

Foote in West-Meath, Kelles, Liscanon in the Brenny, Dundalke, and Moyry.

Lord of Delvin, 150. Sir Francis Shane, 150. Captaine Thomas Roper, 150. The Lord Dunsany, 150. Captaine Esmond, 150. Sir William Warren, 100. Sir Henrie Harrington, 100. Captaine Ferdinand Freckleton, 100. Captaine Richard Hansard, 100. Foote, 1200.

Horse in Kelles, and Liscanon in the Brenny.

The Earle of Kildare, 25. Sir Henry Harington, 25. Lord Dunsany, 50. Horse, 100.

Out of Mounster forces were drawne into Connaght one thousand foote, and fiftie horse, and the abovesaid forces of Connaght are one hundred twelve horse, and one thousand sixe hundred fifty foote. Hereof were left to guard Galloway and Athlone, foote two hundred. Left in Garrison at the Abbey of Boyle one thousand foote, and sixtie two horse, which served to further our new plantation at Ballishannon, (for there a Garrison was newly planted, and Sir Henrie Follyot was made Governour thereof.) The rest of the horse and foote were laid at the Annaly, and might fitly joyne with the Garrisons disposed Southward and Northward upon Lemster, upon

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all occasions of service, as more especially they might concur in stopping the Rebels for passing either on the South or North-side into Lemster. As likewise the Garrisons Southward might answere one another, and these Northward answere one another, upon all occasions of service.

Garrisons in the North.

[II. iii. 210.]

Foote at Mount Norreys.

*Garrisons in
the North.*

Having drawne out sixe hundred foote, and one hundred horse for the Army, left to keepe the Fort, Captaine Atherton, 150.

Foote at Armagh.

Having drawne out for the Army seven hundred fifty foote, and one hundred twenty five horse, left to keepe the Abbey Sir Henry Davers his Company 150, himselfe commanding the horse in the Army.

Foote at Blackwater.

Having drawne out for the Army one hundred foote, left to keepe the Fort Captaine Thomas Williams, 150.

Horse and Foote at the Newrie.

Having drawne out three hundred foote for the Army, left to keepe the Towne, Sir Francis Stafford, 50 horse. Sir Francis Stafford, 200 foote. In Garrison Totall of Horse, 50. Foote, 650.

The Forces at Loughfoyle lay thus in Garrisons, out of which Sir Henrie Dockwra was to draw a competent force into the field, for the Summer service, and to meete the Lord Deputy in Tyrone.

*The Forces at
Loughfoyle.*

Foote.

At Derry Sir Henry Dockwra, 200. Captaine Orme, 100. Captaine Flood, 150. At Dunnman, Captaine Atkinson, 150. At Dunalong, Captaine Badbye, 150. At Ainogh, Captaine Sidney, 100. At Culmore, Captaine Alford, 100. At Ramullan, Captaine Bingley, 150. At

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Bert, Captaine Winsore, 150. At Kilmatren, Captaine Vaughan, 100. At Cargan, Captaine Hart, 100. At Liffer, Captaine Willys, 150. Captaine Pinner, 100. Captaine Brookes, 100. Captaine Coach, 150. Captaine Leygh, 100.

At Dunagall, Asheraw, and Ballishannon.

Sir John Bolles, 150. Captaine Diggs, 100. Captaine Gore, 150. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine Wood, 150. Captaine Orell, 150. Captaine Basset, 100. Captaine Dutton, 100. In all 3000 Foote.

Horse at Aynagh, Dunalong and Liffer, Sir Henry Dockwra, 100. At Ballishannon, Sir John Bolles, 50. In all 150 Horse.

Besides Irish foote, 300; and Irish Horse, 100.

*The Forces
at Carick-
fergus.*

The Forces in Garrison at Carickfergus, out of which Sir Arthur Chichester was to draw a competent strength to come by water, and meete the Lord Deputie in Tyrone.

Foote.

Sir Arthur Chichester, Governour, 200. Sir Foulke Conway, 150. Captaine Sackfeild, 100. Captaine Norton, 100. Captaine Billings, 150. Captaine Phillips, 150. Foote 850.

Horse at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester, Governour, 25. Captaine John Jephson, 100. Horse 125.

Foote in Lecale.

Sir Richard Moryson under his Lieutenant 150, himselfe commanding a Regiment in the Armie.

*The Lord
Deputie's
Army in the
field.*

The Lord Deputies Army in the field for this Summers service.

Horse.

The Lord Deputie, 100. Sir William Godolphin, 50.
[II. iii. 211.] Sir Garret Moore, 50. Sir Richard Greame, 50. Sir

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Samuel Bagnol, 50. Sir Henrie Davers, 100. Master Marshall, 30. Sir Christopher S. Laurence, 25. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine Fleming, 25. Captaine George Greame, 14. Horse in the Army, 506.

Foote.

Lord Deputies Guard, 200. Sir John Barkeley, 200. Sir Benjamin Berry, 150. Sir Henry Folliot, 150. Sir William Fortescue, 150. Sir James Peirse, 150. Sir Garret Moore, 100. Sir Christopher S. Laurence, 150. Sir Edward Fitz Garret, 100. Sir Tibbot Dillon, 100. Master Marshall, 150. Capt. Josias Bodley, 150. Capt. Toby Gawfeild, 150. Captaine Richard Hansard, 100. Capt. Edward Blany, 150. Capt. Fran. Roe, 150. Capt. Ralph Counstable, 100. Capt. Fisher, 100. Captaine John Roberts, 100. Capt. George Blount, 150. Captaine James Blount, 100. Captaine Henslo for pioners, 200. Captaine Masterson, 150. Captaine Henrie Barkley, 150. Captaine Morrys, 100. Captaine Anthony Earsfeild, 100. Captaine Trever, 100. Foote in the Army, 3650.

Total of horse by the List, 1487. Foote by the List, 16950.

The forces being thus disposed for the Summers service, and the Lord Deputie having recovered his health, his first care was to obey her Majesties directions, in dispatching for England Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Oliver S. Johns with a relation of the present state of this Kingdome. By them, besides instructions of the present state, his Lordship sent this following letter to the Lords in England, dated the fifth of May, 1602.

*The Lord
Deputie's
health re-
covered.*

MAY it please your Lordships, although you have good reason to guesse at the difficulties of the warre of Ireland, both by the long continuance, and the exceeding charge thereof before my time (under which the rebels strength did ever grow), as by the slow progresse (though still to the better) that it hath made (I must confesse)

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under my government; yet since I doe conceive, that none but we that are personall actors therein (especially in these times, wherein the fashion and force of this people is so much altered from that it was wont to bee), can thorowly apprehend with how many impediments, crosses and oppositions we undertake and proceede in all things. I humbly desire your Lordships to give mee leave, for your satisfaction and the discharge of my duty, to open unto you some of the causes (which I doe better feele then I can expresse) that have hindred so speedy a conclusion of this warre, as her Majesty, out of her great providence, and large proportion of expence, might happily expect. At my first arrivall, I found the rebels more in number, then at any time they had bin since the conquest, and those so farre from being naked people, as before times, that they were generally better armed then we, knew better the use of their weapons then our men, and even exceeded us in that discipline, which was fittest for the advantage of the naturall strength of the Country, for that they, being very many, and expert shot, and excelling in footmanship all other Nations, did by that meanes make better use of those strengths, both for offence and defence, then could have bin made of any squadrons of pikes, or artificiall fortifications of Townes. In regard whereof, I presumed that mans wit could hardly find out any other course to overcome them, but by famine, which was to be wrought by several Garrisons planted in fit places, & altered upon good occasions. These plantations could not be made but by Armies, which must first settle them, and after remove them, as the strength of the enemy required; the time for those plantations (not only of most conveniency, but almost of necessity) was to be in the Summer, and that for many eminent reasons, but especially in that meanes might bee provided for horse to live in the winter, without which those Garrisons would prove of little effect. Now I beseech your Lordships to remember, that I received this charge the eight and twentieth of February, in the yeere

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1599, at which time I found the rebels in number, and Armes (as I have said) growne to the very height of pride and confidence, by a continued line of their successes and our misfortunes; of the subjects, the worst assisting them openly, and almost the best leaning to their fortune, out of a despaire of ours; the Army discouraged in themselves, and (beleeeve mee my Lords, for you will hardly beleeeve) much contemned by the Rebels. None of our Garrisons had stirred abroad, but they returned beaten, the enemy being so farre Master of the field, that Tyrone had measured the whole length of Ireland, and was comming backe unfought with. And with mee they began the warre at the very suburbs of Dublin. At that time the choice of the whole Army, and even of everie Company (that was left behind) was drawne into Mounster by the Earle of Ormond; howbeit I being desirous to loose no time nor opportunitie, presently gathered together that poore remnant, being the refuse of the rest, with a purpose to have fought with the Traitor in his returne, betweene Fercalle and the Ennye: but hee hastening his journies upon some intelligence of my designe, and I being the longer staid (by the difference of the Councils opinion) from mine intent, it fell out, that I came too late to trie that faire fortune with him. The rest of the Spring I was enforced to attend the drawing of divers Captaines and Companies from remote and divided Garrisons, that were to be imployed for Loughfoyle and Ballishannon; for by your Lordships appointment, I was to send one thousand other souldiers from these parts, and to cast three thousand more, in consideration of so many sent thither out of England, and to reduce the List from sixteene thousand to fourteene thousand, which at that time was a proportion too little to undertake the warre with all; I was further to victuall the Forts of Leax and Ophayle, in those times accounted great and dangerous services. And about the fifth of May, 1600, I drew towards the North, chiefly to divert Tyrone and his Northerne forces, from giving opposition to the Planta-

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tion at Loughfoyle, but withall purposing, if I found meanes for victuals and carriages, to have left a Garrison at Armagh. The first I did thorowly effect, for I gave way to those of Loughfoyle to land, and settle quietly, drew Tyrone with his chiefe forces upon my selfe, and in all the fights I had with him, made him know, that his fortune began to turne, and brake those bounds of his circuit, whence hee was wont to affront our greatest Armies; for in that which was last before this called a Northerne journey, when the Army consisted almost of double numbers of Horse and Foote, they were by the Traytor forced and arrested within the confines of the Pale. At my returne, I finding by observation in my journey (wherewith the whole Counsell did concur in opinion), that the Garrison of Loughfoyle would doe little hurt to Tyrone, except there were forces left at, or about Armagh, since they might easily flie out of their reach, and should enjoy betweene Dungannon and the Pale, one of the largest and most fertill Countries of Ireland, wee became sutors to your Lordships in June 1600, that with more men, and more provisions you would enable us to that Plantation, and in the meane time I intended the service in Ofalie and Leax, the strength of the rebellion in Lemster, and most dangerous Rebels of Ireland. And whereas the last time the Army passed through Leax (being one of the greatest that hath been at any time together in this Kingdome), it was encountred and almost distressed by the onely Natives of that Countrie, it pleased God, that in all our conflicts, which were many, we so prevailed against them, as though all the Rebels in Lemster were then gathered together, yet by killing Owny mac Rory, with many of the best men of both Countries, and by utterly spoiling them (that were exceeding rich in all meanes for life), they have never since been able to make head any otherwise, then to live dispersed in little numbers as Woodkernes, and daily are consumed and weare away. And further, in that yeere we recovered all the Earle of Ormonds pledges.

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Upon the arrivall of the supplies sent by your Lordships, although the time of the yeere were farre spent, and indeede over-farre to plant Garrisons to any great purpose, for the next ensuing winter, and that, at that instant we were ill provided both of victuall and money, yet we set forward, and the fifteenth day of September came to Dundalke, and incamping two miles from thence, within halfe a mile of the entrance of the Moyry, we found that pace (by which we were to passe), being naturally one of the most difficult passages of Ireland, fortified with good art, and with admirable industry, (the enemy having raised from mountaine to mountaine, from wood to wood, and from bogge to bogge, long traverses, with huge and high Flanckers of great stones, mingled with Turffe, and staked on both sides with pallisades watled), and possessed with one of the greatest Armies that ever they were able to make. But that which was our maine impediment, was the extreimity of the weather, and great raine, which made the Rivers unpassable, howbeit in the end the waters somewhat falling, after we had indured more then credible hardnesse, and given many, and those violent assaults on their trenches, we wanne our passage, and immediatly planted a garrison within eight small miles of Armagh, now called Mount Norreys, for at Armagh the grasse was so consumed, that we could not have lived there with our Horses, while the place should have beene made tenable, and this other garrison was thought necessary to be possessed, though Armagh it selfe had beene planted, and in the meane time of little lesse effect. And so far did we stretch out our victuals, & improve our time, and all other provisions, that having Tyrones Army continually within little more then musket shot of us, within two daies we made this Fort guardable, and left therein all our baggage, that with all our meanes for carriage, and even with many of our owne Horses, wee might from the Newry convey as much victuals thither, as might be, which we performed in so short a time, and yet in so good time, that wee were forced to fast

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two daies in our returne. This garrison could not bee to such effect as it should bee, because wee had not victuals enough to leave a compitent proportion for a sufficient number of men, neither could there any Horse be left for want of meanes for them. Neverthesse, that Winter there was great good service done by those of that Fort, commanded by Captaine Edward Blaney, a very worthy and painefull Gentleman.

I doe not repeate the manner of our fights, nor the number of them, both before, and after in our returne, wherein the Rebelle seldome scaped without a blow; and namely in the pace of Carlingford, where hee received a notable overthrow: Neither set I downe any thing in this, to amplifie our owne doings or endeavours, but to give your Lordships an account, how this season was lost, from making such plantations, as by taking their effect in the Winter, should in short time have broken the heart of the Rebellion, and to let it appeare unto your Lordships, by the many difficulties and oppositions wee found in onely bending this way, how impossible it had beene for us at the same time, with the numbers we had, to have planted in other places, which had beene as necessary as this, to have made a sudden end of the warre. And among other considerations, your Lordships may bee pleased to conceive, that albeit the Lyst of the Forces here in Ireland, being unitely considered, may appeare to bee sufficiently great, yet dividing the same into his parts, as three thousand in Mounster, three thousand at Loughfoyle, one thousand for Knockefergus, and almost two thousand in Connaght, the remainder (whereof I have beene onely able to prevaile my selfe, and wherewith I have sustained the burthen of the Warre, both in Lemster and the North), can hardly beare such deminution, as all Armies are subject unto, in their deficient men, with so many subdivisions, as I am necessarily constrained to make, for the guarding of important places (as with the Earle of Ormond, in Leaxe, Ophalia, and divers other parts) to defend the subject

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from the incursions of Rebels, and yet leave me a competent Army to trie a fortune with all the Rebels of the North, which wee must bee prepared for, seeing no such diversion can be expected from the foresaid Garrisons, as is able to hinder the light footed Kerne (having fled their Creaghts into their fastnesses) from joyning their utmost strength from the remotest partes of their associates, in lesse then three daies warning. Whereas wee on the contrary, in case of present use, can hope for no manner of assistance from our disjoynd troopes, within the compasse of as many weekes. And besides these impediments, and many other, I did neither then nor at any time since, meete with any more hurtfull to my proceedings, then the restraint of our extraordinaries, and the want of al such kind of necessities, as your Lordships were perswaded were onely fit for a more royall warre; whereas the substance of extraordinaries, growing chiefly by huge provisions of carriages, to convay victuals, and waste therein, by large proportions of Pyoners, and other Workemens tooles, with divers other sorts of engins, and engineers, for fortification, and passages over Rivers, and other places otherwise unpassable, by materials for the same, rewards for spials and other services, I will boldly affirme what I presume I can prove to your Lordships, that there is no warre in the World, that to be effectually followed, doth require a more liberall expence for provision of all these things, then this, and of all other extraordinaries, saving the charge of great Artillery, whereof also in some measure, though in a farre lesse then other places, we have great use. And of many (perchance more forcible) to present unto your Lordships onely these two reasons: An Army is no where arrested with so many Rivers and unpassable Marshes, as here: Secondly, where the warre is to be made to best effect, we find no meanes of victuals, or any other necessary provision, but what we bring with us. To redeeme the losse of this opportunity for plantation to so good effect as it should have been, I

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undertooke with an Army no greater then a reasonable garrison, to make the warre of Lemster, in the depth of Winter. And first I fell into the Glinnes, the fastest Countrey of Ireland, and till now of all the parts of Lemster, onely untouched, where I first spoiled all the Countrey, and made Donnell Spanigah, whom before I had received to her Majesties mercy, to joine with me therein, and after forced Phelim Mac Feogh, and all the Toolles, (the most pestilent infestors of the Pale) to submission, who have since shewed more apparence of good subjects, then ever I knew or heard of any of these Rebels. After going up and downe as farre as Athlone, I fell into Fercalle, forced Tyrill out of an exceeding great strength, and banished him, and in effect all the Oconners, out of Ophaly into the North. Returning towards the North, I spoiled all the Ferny, with a journey where I was present, and wherein (besides many other) were killed two of Euer Mac Cooleys sonnes. I wasted the Fuse by Sir Richard Moryson, planted a garrison above twenty miles from the Pale in the Brenny by Sir Oliver Lambert, and returning to Drogheda, by the generall advice of the Counsell, I tooke in Turlogh mac Henry, Lord of the Fuse, and Euer mac Cooly Farmer of the Ferny, Sir Ohy Ohanlon a Northerne Lord, and many of the Macmahowms and Orellies, who all besides their greatest oathes, gave us such as were thought their best pledges for their loyalty. And to loose no part of this beginning yeere 1601, having settled the new Submitties of Lemster, and the borders of the North, with as great assurance as I could, I drew againe into the North, before the generall hosting for that yeere could be in readinesse, and cleared and assured the passage of the Moyry, by cutting downe most part of the Woods, and building a Fort there: Then I went into Lecayle, wholly possessed by Mac Gennis, and tooke in all the Castles in those parts: From thence I went to Armagh and there placed a garrison. And albeit at this time the continuall rumours wee heard of preparations in

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Spaine, made us proceede somewhat more irresolutely in our maine course of plantation and making the warre in Tyrone it selfe, yet we went forward with an intent, to draw Sir Arthur Chichester by Loughsidney into Tyrone: to plant a garrison at the Blackwater: to force a passage somewhat beneath it to meet him, and by building a Fort and Bridge upon the passage, to have made Dungannon it selfe the Center, whether without any great difficulty the Garrisons at Loughfoyle, Armagh, Knockfergus, Mount Norreys, and all other of the North, might at all times meet together, to beate and absolutely to banish the Arch-traitor out of his owne Country: and in the performing thereof, to have spoiled all the Rebels corne, saving such as should be within the command of those Garrisons, whom (with the countenance of the Army in the Harvest time) wee resolved to enable to make large provisions thereof, for themselves and their horses. And so farre had wee proceeded in this course, that wee had forced Tyrone from the Blackwater, where hee lay with his Army, and had fortified and entrenched there with great art: we had cleared the passage intended to Dungannon (the making of the bridge onely excepted, which wee meant to supply with a floate), and spoiled most part of their standing Corne. About which time the assured newes was come unto us of the ariving of the Spaniards, which first staying, and after cleane diverting our course, we were driven by their comming, to bend our counsels, to defend her Majesties Kingdome from forraigne invasion, that before were busie to recover it from inward rebellion, and to that end to breake off our worke, and to leave the further prosecution of that businesse (the places already possessed onely preserved.) By this continued time, wherein the Army from the first was led on in action, induring all seasons, and more fights then (I thinke) ever Army did in so short time, your Lordships must not wonder, if to make head against the Spaniards, wee drew up weake Companies: for besides deficient by sicknesse, and death, there were

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many Companies that had thirtie and fortie hurt men in them. Yet upon any uncertainty (how probable soever), I was loth to loose to her Majestie the chiefe benefit of one whole yeeres service, till I was fully assured of their landing, and therefore first drew my selfe onely with a few horse into Mounster, and never sent for the forces, till the very last pinch of necessitie. And thus have your Lordships also the reasons, how this second yeere was lost, without laying the new foundation for rooting out of the Rebels, though God be thanked it was wonne in defending her Kingdome from a powerfull and ambitious Invader, to his dishonour, and I hope also to the more sound and sudden subversion of the Rebels. I will speake nothing of the service at Kinsale, since to my great comfort I doe finde her Majestie and your Lordships so well satisfied therein, but so behoofefull for the publike good I conceived it, to make a cleane riddance of them out of this Countrie, and as much as I might to assure in them the performance of their departure, that it was necessarie to keepe the Army in those parts untill we were quit of them. And to give them the lesse advantage, if they had purposed falsely, I presently conveyed the Cannon into an Iland that doth absolutely command the Haven of Kinsale, with a sufficient guard, and beginning a fortification there at that instant to maintaine it. I tooke order they should have no more victuals sold unto them, then I presumed would but serve them from day to day, and for their provision of bread, in effect they spent on their owne stoare. So that I could have been able at any time to invest them againe, on as ill or worse conditions then I left them. But before the wind and other provisions served for their departure, the Winter was so farre spent, that wee could not in the fittest time returne the Companies to their Garrisons, nor otherwise could wee have done it, because the places were not stored with victuals, nor any provision for horse. And yet those little remnants that were left to defend those places, did many

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excellent services, and now I hope your Lordships shall daily heare of more, the whole forces being returned. What course we have thought on for this next Summer, I will not trouble your Lordships with the repetition thereof, being set downe and delivered to Sir Oliver S. Johns. Onely this I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to remember you of, out of a publike dutie how much soever it may seeme to taste of my private ends, that you continually enjoyne me, and I as much endeavour, to decrease the List, yet you still send over new Captaines, and command me to bestow Companies on such, as give them up in England, to others recommended by them, unto whome (to deale plainely) most of them doe sell them. And even of late I have received your Lordships letters for the increase of some particular mens Companies. When I cast the Captaines which your Lordships send over, I procure their hate, and many of your Lordships displeasures, besides their owne friends that favour them. If I doe not increase such as you commend, I doe incurre the like. If I cast those Companies and Captaines, that in so many trials I doe know to bee best able to doe her Majestie service heere, I shall dispaire, or at least bee diffident hereafter, of doing any good, and yet have they most reason to condemne me of injustice, and to importune your Lordships to be otherwise relieved, that have spent most of them their blouds, and all of them their continuall labours, even in mine eie for the recoverie and defending of this Kingdome. I [II. iii. 216.] humbly desire your Lordships, since heretofore it was my fortune to be hated of few, that you will preserve mee from becomming odious, by doing that which is fittest for the service. For I have already tasted of their spleene, whom (God knoweth) against my will I have been forced to cashere, though I have delt more favourably with some of them, whom being loth to harme, I have rather commended, when my onely fault was, that I did not punish them. And since I hope, God will so blesse our worke, that ere it bee long, wee shall much diminish

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the number of our labourers, if in that great cashering, there be not meanes to preserve the best Capitaines, I would bee loth to bee the man, that should undertake the conclusion of the warre. And now I doe humbly desire your Lordships to pardon mee, if out of my great care to satisfie you in all things, I have troubled you with so long, and (I feare mee) so unworthy a letter of your Lordships reading, &c.

*The Lord
Deputie at
Dundalke.*

Instructions being given to Sir Robert Gardiner, and Sir Oliver Saint Johns, whereby they might satisfie her Majestie in all points, touching the present state of her affaires in this Kingdome. The Lord Deputie with some Commanders, divers voluntarie Gentlemen, and his servants attending him, rode to Dundalke. And whilst hee there attended the comming up of the forces, and the arriving of victuals, with other necessities that might enable him to take the field, his Lordship on the thirtieth of May, received from her Majestie this letter following.

Elizabeth Regina.

*The Queens
Letter.*

RIght trusty and welbeloved, Wee greet you well. Whereas the paiment of our Army in that Kingdome hath been of late yeeres made partly in money by certaine weekly lendings, and partly in apparrell, which course of paiment was instituted upon good considerations, to prevent the fraud which divers Capitaines of evil disposition did exercise upon their Companies. Notwithstanding we have perceived by your letters, and by the reports of some persons (who have had credence from you to deliver the same to our Counsell here), that such manner of paiment hath not wrought that effect which was expected, in causing our Companies to bee kept fuller, and yet is, by reason of the late alteration of the standard of our monies there, more chargeable to Us, then the paiment in readie moneys would bee; We have therefore thought good to cease that manner of payment from henceforth, and to revive the old manner of payment in money, after the rate of eight pence by the day

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of the new standard to each souldier, which course Our pleasure is, shall begin to take place from the first day of this moneth of Aprill, and so to be continued by your Warrants to Our Treasurer directed; and shall be made from time to time by way of imprests to each Captaine for himselfe and his Companie, at your discretion, according to the state of their Companies, or to the necessitie of Our service, untill the dayes of full paies, which Wee are pleased shall bee made twice in everie yeere, viz. at the Feasts of Saint Michael the Arch-Angell, and the Annuntiation of the Virgin Marie. At which times Our pleasure is, that all our Armie shall be fully and clearly paid of their whole wages, all defalcations due upon them, being formerly deducted. And for that purpose Wee will provide, that against that time, there shall bee in Our Treasurers hands money sufficient to make full paies. And whereas by your latter letters, written since our Councell signified unto you, that Wee were pleased to restore this kinde of pay, you doe require, that for the establishing thereof with contentment of our Army, two things may bee chiefly observed. The one, that Our Treasurer may have money in his hands sufficient from time to time for performance of this payment. The other that the Exchange bee duely maintained on this side, without which you alleadge, that there will arise inconveniencies intollerable to the army; we are pleased for your satisfaction herein to assure you, that in both these points wee will take such order, that neither our Treasurer there shall want monies of the new standard for payments necessary in that Realme, nor the bankes here, sterling monies, to make good the exchange, according as it is established by our Proclamations. Although in this point we cannot omit to let you know, that we see no cause of such vehement complaints, as your letters doe import, of default in the exchange, for that uppon examination we doe find, that of three or foure and fifty thousand pounds returned in this last yeere, there is not unpaid at this present above sixe thousand pounds,

*The Armie to
be paid twice
in everie
yeere.*

[II. iii. 217.]

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*Two points to
be observed.*

which considering our excessive charges in that yeere, ought not to give to any much cause of offence. These two points like as we are pleased to observe, in such manner as we have written, to the end that thereby our Army and subjects may perceive how great our care is, that they should receive contentment in things due unto them. So on the other side, for that a straight observation of the same on our part, without a good correspondency of yours and theirs, to remedy some inconveniencies which thereby may be cast upon us, may prove very burthensome to us, wee are to admonish you of the observation of two other points necessary on your part and theirs to be observed. The first is, that whereas heretofore, when this manner of paiement in money onely, which now is received, was in use, through the corrupt disposition of some Captaines, and for want of good discipline in our forces, great frauds were committed, as well to us, in not keeping the full numbers by us allowed, as also to the souldiers, in detaining their wages or part thereof from them, which deceits without good caution now to be used, may be againe renewed. We doe therefore expect, that you shall establish so good a course of discipline for the ordering of our Bands in this point, as that wee shall not be hereafter abused in decaies of our numbers, as heretofore we have beene, which you shall never so well prevent nor alien mens minds from like frauds, as by inflicting notorious and exemplary punishments upon Captaines and Officers when their faults in this kind shall appeare to be notorious, not onely by casting them out of our pay, but by degrading, and other notes of ignominy, which in military discipline are used to be justly done to men, who by their shamelesse actions doe not onely bring shame to their profession, but to the publike services notable impediments; and in a manner an evident treachery. And as this first change of payment in apparell to be paid in money, had his first motion from you our Deputy, and the principall Captaines and Officers of the Army, in which you now note perill, if

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the exchange bee not maintained. As it is true that that must be supported by us, and shal be, so we know none must prevent the Captaines taking of pay for their soldiers apparell, and not bestowing it, but your selfe, of whose care and judgement we have great reason to assure our selves, both for your love to our service, and your own Honor. The second point which we recom- *The second point.*
mend unto you, is the due execution of our former Proclamations, touching this matter of the exchange, and the assistance of the Master of our exchange, and his Ministers therein, to the end that all frauds, discovered of late to have beene used by Merchants, who abuse our Princely intention therein for their private gaine may be remedied, and therein chiefly that the use of all monies descried may be taken away from the people of that Countrey, and withall sterling money, may bee brought into our Exchange, upon such conditions as our Proclamations containe. For that wee doe find that our intent in the erection of this new Coyne, can no way so soone take place, as by withdrawing all other monies from them, whereby the Rebels may exercise trafficke with forraigne Nations, and by them be relieved, wherefore you may adde to the remedies in our said Proclamations mentioned, any other good meanes that in your judgements shall be thought meete to be used, and publish the same by Proclamation in our name, or advertise us of your conceit, to the end you may have warrant from us, to do that which we shal think meet to be done therein. Further we have thought good to admonish you, that forasmuch as the winter apparell already delivered to the souldier, wil not bee run out untill the fourteenth day of May [II. iii. 218.] (inclusive). And that it is likely, seeing you know already that we purposed to take away the delivery of apparell, you have furnished the Companies in Lieu thereof with some money by way of imprests, whereby it may fall out, that we shall be double charged. Therefore you our Deputy shall take order with our Treasurer, that upon the halfe yeeres full pay, to be ended at Michaelmas

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next, defalcation be made of so much, as any Companies shall have received betweene the first of Aprill and the fifteenth of May above their weekly lendings, if so much shall be then over paid to any Company. Given under our signet, at our Mannor of Greenwich, the eight and twentieth of Aprill, in the foure and fortieth yeere of our Raigne.

*The Lord
Deputy enters
into Tyrone.*

In the beginning of June, the Lord Deputy having gathered the forces together, tooke the field, and marched up to Blackewater, to the passage, which he had the last yeere discovered to be most convenient to carry her Majesties Forces that way into the heart of Tyrone. At this passage, lying some five miles Eastward from the fort of Blackewater, his Lordship incamped on the South side of the River, having a small pace or skirt of wood betweene him and the River, of which pace he had the yeere before cut downe many trees, so as at this time the passage was soone cleered. Hence his Lordship sent Sir Richard Moryson with his Regiment, to possesse the North side of the River, for securing of the Armies passage against any attempt of the Rebels. Thus the Queenes forces being entered into Tyrone, there incamped, and his Lordship spent some time in causing a bridge to be built over the River, and a fort adjoining, to guard the passage, which of his owne Christian name was called Charlemount, and left Captaine Toby Cawfield, (with his Company being one hundred and fifty) to command the same. From the Campe the Countrey was plaine and open to Dungannon, being distant some sixe miles, and while these workes were in hand, we might see the Towne of Dungannon and Tyrones chiefe House there seated, to be set on fier, whereby it was apparant, that Tyrone with his forces meant to flie and quit those parts: So as the Lord Deputy sent S^r Richard Moryson with his regiment to possesse Dungannon, whether his Lordship soone after marched with the rest of the forces.

*Charlemount
Fort.*

By this time Sir Henry Dockwra a Governour of the Forces about Loughfoyle, having planted many garrisons

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in those parts, had lately planted a garrison at Omy, (being some twelve miles distant from Dungannon), whence he came with his forces, and met the Lord Deputy at Dungannon. Thus the Lord Deputy having driven the Archtraitor out of his owne Countrey, as high as the Castle Row upon the Ban, sent out some parties to spoile and prey the Countrey as farre as Eniskillin upon Lough Erne. Then he tooke some of Tyrones strongest Ilands, namely, one wherein he had a strong Fort, where we recovered three peeces of her Majesties artillery, and another Iland called Magherlowni, which next Dungannon was the chiefe place of his abode, and Magazines for his warre.

*Tyrones
Ilands taken.*

From Dungannon the Lord Deputy sent Sir Richard Moryson with five hundred foot, to meet Sir Arthur Chichester, who came with his forces from Carickfergus, and was to passe Loughsidney, and land within few miles of Dungannon, where they being met, did according to the Lord Deputies direction, begin to raise a Fort. In the meane time the Lord Deputy having utterly banished all Tirones partakers out of those parts, marched five miles from Dungannon to Loughsidney, where Sir Arthur Chichester lay with his forces, and his Lordship encamped there, till he had made the Fort defencible to containe above one thousand foot, and one hundred horse, which were to be victualed from Carickfergus by the way of the said Lough. This Fort of his Lordships Barrony, he called Mountjoy, and made Sir Benjamin Berry (his Lieftenant, and now one of the Colonels of the Army) Governour of the same for the present service, which being done, the command of the Fort was left to Captaine Francis Roe. Likewise for the present service Sir Arthur Chichester commanded in chiefe the forces to be left there, which he might draw out upon all occasions of service, as out of all other garrisons in those parts towards Carickfergus.

*Mountjoy
Fort.*

While his Lordship encamped here upon Loughsidney, hee received the eighth of July letters from her Majesty, [II. iii. 219.]

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*Letters from
the Queene.*

signifying by her owne hand, that shee was glad of his recovery of that sicknesse which did surprize him, after his many cares and labours both of body and mind in the siege of Kinsale, commending much his providence, that notwithstanding his owne state of body, he did set on foot such preparations for the summers prosecution, as nothing should be wanting when the time should serve. That howsoever her sensible feeling of her subjects burthens, caused her daily to call upon him and all other Ministers for the speedy and carefull easing thereof, yet hee should wrong both her and himselfe in beleeving, that thereby any errorrs were imputed to himselfe, whose endeavours in that Kingdome had much improved her opinion of him, and should rather conceive that thereby shee would give him more occasion to call all others to a severe accompt, who in places under him neglected her service, and for private gaine sought to prolong the warre, all other judgement of her valuation of his services making him guilty of his owne griefe, and being farre from her disposition towards him. That since this Summer, hee meant to lay the Axe to the roote of the tree, by prosecuting the Arch-traitor, who had nothing to beare him up but false rumours of Spanish aides: This Summer (if ever any) was the time to end the warre, since by supplies sent to the States, shee had stopped the currant of the Spaniards progresse in the siege of Ostend, and had also set a chargeable Fleet to Sea, to attend upon the Coast of Spaine, and prevent the arrivall of any his forces in Ireland. That the reducing the Arch-traitor by her Sword, being the onely agreeable satisfaction shee could receive for the mischiefes fallen upon her loving subjects, by his iniquities, shee conceived the most ready meanes for effecting the same, was to draw from him the chiefe Captaines of Countries. To which purpose her pleasure was, that the Lord Deputy should receive to her mercy such of them, as truely and humbly sought it, wherein without prescribing him any particular course, who best knew all circumstances, onely shee gave

*The Spaniards
progresse
stopped.*

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this caution, to provide against former mischiefs, that whereas commonly the Rebels, fearing to be spoiled, were wont to contract under-hand with the Arch-traitor, to submit themselves, thereby for the present to save their Countrie, and to give succours to the Rebels Creaghts under hand, and after the returne of the Army to revolt againe; now hee should consider the inward motives of their craving mercy, and where hee could not ruine them without spending more time and charge, then the maine action would permit, there to deale with them in a more easie manner, otherwise to give more sharpe impositions in the conditions of their submissions, and by wasting their goods, to make their obedience more durable. That shee judged one condition necessarie, not to pardon any, but upon service done, not onely upon those whom particularly they hated, but upon any other as they should bee directed. That as an argument of her confidence in him, she gave him power of warre and peace; onely one thing she professed to see no cause to leave unexempted, namely the pardoning of the Arch Traitor, a Monster of ingratitude to her, and the roote of miserie to her people, thinking all other mercy then the proscription of him to all manner of prosecution, meerely incompatible with her justice, and therfore commanding not to receive him upon any conditions, but upon simple submission to mercy for al things (life only excepted), & to make this her pleasure known to all his complices, perswaded by him that hee may bee pardoned at his pleasure, & so fearing to leave him, least after they should bee left to his superiortie & revenge.

Concerning fortifications against forraigne invasion, her Majesty gave allowance to reaire the Fort at Waterford, and to build Forts in the Harbours of Corke and Kinsale, and to build a Fort at Galloway, and at Carlingford, (but this last was not effected, his Lordship lesse fearing the discent of forraigne forces within Saint Georges Channel), and further to build such small fortifications, as hee the Lord Deputy should thinke meete, aswell for

*Pardon only
upon service
done.*

*Fortifications
against
forraigne
invasion.*

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Neale Garve.

[II. iii. 220.]

*The Lord of
Delvin.*

*Letters from
the Lords in
England.*

the present planting of Garrisons in Tyrone, as otherwise, imploying therein Captaine Bodley, or Captaine Hansard, being with the Army, or Paul Yuye, being in Mounster, or any whom his Lordship knew fit to oversee and contrive these works. Concerning Neale Garve, who held part of Odonnels Country as yet by a custodium, her Majestie gave warrant to passe the same to him by letters Patents; yet in regard of his tickle disposition, to make such restrictions therein, as hee the Lord Deputy and the Counsell here should thinke meete, and to pretend the same to bee done by her Majesties speciall direction.

The Lord of Delvin, upon succours given to the Rebels, and conferences had with Tyrone, at his comming out of the North into Mounster, in the doubtfull time of the siege of Kinsale, had since been imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin, and now her Majesties pleasure was, that hee should bee called to his triall before some of the Counsell (tho it came to no effect, he dying in prison before the time prefixed for his calling to answer), there being matter enough to charge him with underhand favouring the rebels, howsoever peradventure there would be found no plaine matter to question him for his life (wherein her Majestie professed no Prince on earth lesse allowed any proceeding, where the proofes were not more cleare then day light) and so her Majestie, howsoever being disposed to forbear severity, yet resolving to use correction of so ill an instrument.

The same eight day of July the Lord Deputie received letters from the Lords in England, wherein after congratulating his Lordships recovery, as one to whom (both in respect of her Majesties service, wherein almighty God had extraordinarily blessed him, and for their own particular affection) they wished both health and honor. Their Lordships at large signified, that the grounds, of the Summer service were so well laied, as no man could disallow them. That supplies of men were sent, and those without Captaines. That for the victuals required, her Majestie thought it an unsupportable charge to pro-

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vide one yeeres victual for fourteene thousand men, yet they had so reconciled the demaund and the provision, as the demaund being for one yeere, and the whole numbers by pole, the provision was answerable to the numbers, but not for the whole time, experience teaching, that the defects in the numbers would supply the abridgement in the time, besides the help of many garrisons taking half victuals and halfe money, and that Beeves might be bought in every Country with mixed money (whereas the victuals in England were provided with sterling money.) That concerning fortifications he knew her Majesties pleasure, praying him to commit that worke to such discreete and honest persons, as her Majestie might neither bee put to unnecessarie charges, nor deceived in the disbursements. That more then fortie thousand pounds had beene paid to Merchants in London for billes of exchange, granted by the Treasurer to Irish Merchants, for satisfying their debts due in London before the alteration of the standard, which absurd course hee could never have held, if hee had given no Merchant any bill of exchange for any more money then hee could bring good prooffe to have disbursed, or to owe for Merchandize brought into the Kingdome. That whereas upon his Lordships motion, and the Captaines good liking, her Majesty had beene pleased to commit the apparelling of the souldier to them, against which resolution now many reasons were produced, their Lordships found further impediment, in that three hundred pound imprest to each Captaine before hand was required, and their sufficiency for the greater part to answere such a summe, was so doubted, as it was thought her Majesties mony should runne a hazard, whereas formerly the Contractors gave her Majesty time, and besides put in good sureties to answere all defects. Besides that, it was feared the Captaines would either let the Souldier goe naked, or fill their Companies with Irish, who would require no apparell; requiring to know his Lordships judgement, whether the old course were fitter to be continued then

40000 li.
paid to
Merchants in
London.

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this. Lastly, that they conceived the King of Spaine, had not fully abandoned his purposes for Ireland, yet were advertised that her Majesties Fleet lying upon that Coast, made him for the present rather apply his Counsell to stand upon defence, esteeming it dangerous to put to Sea while her Majesties ships were so ready to attend him: so as they hoped his Lordship should not be interrupted by any forraigne power, although no certainty could be given of such actions of Princes, who having many designes, and for them many preparations, may change minds at their pleasures.

[II. iii. 221.] In the same Campe, and the same eighth of July, the Lord Deputy received the following letter from Master Secretary Cecyll, betweene whom a firme combination of love (or at least) so firme as to such great persons is incident, had long beene practised, and now within few moneths had beene finally confirmed.

*Letter from
Master
Secretary
Cecyll.*

MY Lord, if I were now to beginne the frame of our friendship, I should be curious to fasten it with all the ten nailes that belong to Architecture, because in the beginning men are curious to observe Minutissima: but I that know how straight the knots are tied of our affections, by the mutuall offices of love and confidence, doe not tie my selfe to these complements, which are held of great consequence, but in vulgar and light friendships. Let that argument serve therefore for excuse of my long silence, because I judge you by my own affections. To speak of the subject of the general dispatch in this my private letter, were but impertinent, seeing I have joined in the same, & yet seeing I write there as a Counsellour, and here as a friend, that hath bound himselfe by election, and not by compulsion, I will tell you my opinion sincerely of those things which are most material in the same: first my Lord I do assure you, that it is not in the compasse of my judgement how to maintaine that Army, at that height it is at, longer then

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*Letter from
Master
Secretary
Cecyll.*

the time of prosecution, without extreame prejudice of this estate, whereof though you are not the efficient cause, or Sine qua non, yet I must confesse, I had rather that lot might light upon any other then upon you, because I would be loth your returne should not succeed a diminution thereof, whereby you might receive the thanks for that effect, by which this State feeleth victory more then by any other consequence whatsoever. For this purpose, I must confesse, I have endeavoured to prepare her Majesties mind to give you the power of compounding with Rebels, both because you draw the Sword which would best cut out the conditions of submission, and because for a while they shall rather hope for, then feele any forraigne succours: For the Traitor himselfe, what you have you see, and therefore I know that must be your warrant, yet will I privately say this unto you, that if her Majesty had not the prejudice in her owne thoughts, that he will insult when it comes to the upshot, and so her opening her selfe in offer of a pardon, would returne unto her a double scorne, I am confidently perswaded, that when you have made triall, and shall make it appeare, that there is no other impediment, then her Majesties acceptation, you shall receive sufficient warrant for conclusion. In the meane time, lest you should say, you are put to doe that which is tender to handle, because my word can be no warrant, or for that which is impossible to effect, (which is, that he will trust his life in your hands by a personall submission), first you have warrant to trie it for receiving him upon condition of his life, so as therein you may fashion your owne course as you list. Secondly, for the point of his not daring to trust the State for his personall comming in, all other things but that may be digested, and that doubt sent over hither, whereby her Majesty shall yet have the honour of refusall, (if God doe so dispose her heart), and not he, which her Majesty seeketh to avoid. For the preparation in Spaine, I can say no more then I have done, in the joint dispatch,

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*Letter from
Master
Secretary
Cecyll.*

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

[II. iii. 222.]

onely the continuance of her Majesties Fleete upon the Coast; and this breaking out of Byrones conspiracy, in which Spaine hath given the French King occasion of offence, may hinder any present invasions, and so give you more time, then when Don Jean arrived it was resolved. And thus have I now of the publike affaires delivered you as much, as I know to be worthy of advertisement. My Lord, being somewhat troubled with a paine in my eies, I presumed to write the ordinary matters of my letter in a borrowed hand, reserving that which was of more privatenesse to my owne selfe. To assure you of the Queenes acceptation of your services, and of the abolition of her former exceptions, I vow before God, that my heart doth give me that warrant, out of my poore judgement of her disposition, (more then upon sudden speeches sometime when the first apparition of new charge and likelihood to continue doth present it selfe), that I might say, Dormito securus: When I can by any occasion, I bring Sir Oliver Saint Johns to her Majesty, because hee may see how her Majesties affections move, to whose report of her language now, to him I doe referre mee. But to come to the point, my Lord this I say, the way to doe your Lordship good, is to increase your merit, and that cannot be done without increasing your meanes. For the supplies of meanes therefore to prosecute, I labour (as far as I have credit) to procure you them. For the way to make an end by peace, I think no man seekes more then my selfe to inable you, by perswading her Majesty to give you that power; wherein when lack of arguments happens, to worke her Majesties mind (which in her Princely indignation against that Arch-traytor is full of obstruction), I doe fall to the binding argument (which of all things most concludeth), and that is this: That in short time the sword cannot end the warre, and long time the State of England can not wel indure it. What in the first is granted, I leave to the things themselves. But for the second kind, I confesse that in Tirones case you have

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*Letter from
Master
Secretary
Cecyll.*

nothing that can produce good effect, except there be more mortar sent you to fasten the foundation, which is yet to bee laid upon drie stone. For although I know that by this warrant you may safely give care, and can cause him to be delt with, yet that which you can doe for him by this way, will bee by him contemned. In which respect, as I know your Lordship hath wisdom enough to conceale the latitude of your Commission, so beleeeve me (out of my judgement) that if the Queene may once perceive, that it is only in her, that he comes not to reasonable conditions, and if shee were sure that shee should not be scorned, by offering that which he would not accept, then such is her Princely judgement, and such are the minds of us all, that are sworne to give her Majestie true Counsell, as I doubt not, but by our humble importunitie upon your advertisements what you find would bee accepted, her Majestie would bee readily induced to doe that, which is so much for her Majesties service, being a matter, which if my prayers to God could have otherwise brought to passe in her mind at this time, I know full well how much it had bin more advantagious, then to have it sent after occasion, and fittest opportunitie. And so much (my Lord) for my Comment upon the text of her Majesties owne letter. For your returne therefore I remaine as I was, that it could bee of no other consequence to her Majestie, then for the greatest good of her service, and to your selfe infinite comfort and honour. Of which it is superfluous to speake, till time give mee more light, and give you more opportunitie in this present action, to send mee more grounds. Then will I not faile to speak like an honest man, that will neither halt nor practise, with you. In confidence whereof, worthy Lord, beleeeve me, that I can be to any subject living, I will bee to you, in which I must confesse I am more fixed, because I see your moderation, which all that follow you there have not; and therefore in all great things beleeeve mee by my selfe, as I will doe you. For if you had not the facultie of distinction of every

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*Letter from
Master
Secretary
Cecyll.*

ones humour, that together with their generall and honest affections to you, have also (as most flesh and bloud hath) their owne private ends (in which they are not ever so juditious as to consider, whether all that is good for them, be good simul & semper for you), I shall bee often jealous, that they would shew mee to you in many colours of opennesse or privacy, as their appetite serves more or lesse. Of our French newes, I have intreated Sir Oliver Saint John to bee my Referendary, being of opinion, that Byrone and Auvergne are both executed by this time, though I know it not. Their practise doubtlesse was to have joyned with Spaine by Savoy, for some greatnesse not fit for subjects, but whether so farre as to execute any thing against the Kings person (as ad faciendum populum it is divulged), I cannot confidently speake as yet, because mee thinkes his owne creature could not bee such a monster in that kind.

For Spaine I must still say, that I conclude they will assaile Ireland againe, and that they would have beene there ere this time, but for her Majesties Fleete, which shee hath now returned to tarrie out till October. To say where they will land, were a strange speculation: but I doe assure you for my owne part, that I cannot bee diverted from my opinion, that they will againe come into Mounster. I send you not the newes of Sir Richard Levisons taking of the Carricke at Lisbone, because it came but to day by France, but surely I hope it is true, and the Flemmings have surely taken one. God send you all happinesse and long life to doe her Majestie service; of whom I aske no more requitall then that if you out-live me, you remember, that Will Cecyll was sonne to a father and mother that loved you. The chiefe cause why the Queene is so peremptory towards the Traitor, is that she hath heard, that after Blount went to him, he bragged that he was wooed. Now I know not how true that was, but Sir Robert Gardner seemed to thinke, that the Traitor in that point was belied. Sir Oliver S. John is very discreete, and worthy your extra-

*A Carricke
taken at
Lisbone.*

[II. iii. 223.]

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ordinary favours; he knowes well what is fit for every man.

Your affectionate friend to doe you service
Ro. Cecyll.

After the building of Mountjoy Fort, the Lord Deputy purposed to follow Tyrone through his greatest Fastnesse, till he should utterly ruine him, or drive him that way to the Sea: but by reason this degree of prosecution required long time, and already the victuals were wasted, which his Lordship could with any conveniency bring with him, and because the further the Traitor should be followed, his Lordship should bee the further from any meanes to relieve his Forces, he was inforced to alter his resolution, and imbrace the following course of it selfe as good as the former. First, he dismissed Sir Henry Dockwra, to gather and provide for some good numbers of men at the Omy, and to prepare within twenty daies, to draw as farre as Dungeven in Ocanes countrie, sufficiently inabled with meanes to prosecute, and fall upon Tyrone that way. Secondly, his L^p gave order to Sir Arthur Chichester, to doe the like by Toome. And lastly he himselfe purposed to returne within 20 daies limited, to make the warre upon Tirone by the way of Killeto, lying next upon the border of Tyrones Countrie. In the meane time, on all sides they put up as much victuals as they could, to such places as were most fit for the subsisting of these severall forces, during this prosecution. His L^p was confident, that the Garrison of the Omy under Sir Henrie Dockwra, and the Garrison of Mountjoy upon Loughsidney, (where were left 850 foot, and 100 horse) under Sir Arthur Chichesters command, would restraîne Tirone from the Plaines into the Fastnesses (where now he was) for the twenty daies above limited. In the meane time, his Lordship with the Army intended to lie in such places, as without great convoyes he might put up victuals for this purpose, meaning to imploy the time in assuring or wasting all the Countries betwixt Blackwater and the Pale.

*Orders to
Sir Henry
Dockwra.*

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*Sir John
Barkley and
Capt. Willis
shot.*

And with this purpose he marched back towards Monaghan, and in the way taking some Ilands and strong places, though in those and all the former services we had not lost five men of the Armie, yet we had the disaster, by a casuall shot out of one of the Ilands, to leese Sir John Barkley, a worthy Gentleman, and Serjeant Major of the Army, and in another slight skirmish to leese Capt. Willis. Upon the death of Sir John Barkley, his L^p made Sir Henry Davers Serjeant Major in his place, and comming into Monaghan, his L^p on the 19 of July advertised the Lords in England of the former services, as also that hee had directed Sir Henry Dockwra, and Sir Arthur Chichester, that in case any new Spanish forces should land in Ireland, they should draw unto him with their principall forces, yet leave the Garrisons defensible, as bridles to the submitted late rebels, and a diversion to the rest remaining in rebellion. That howsoever the numbers of those Garrisons seemed to threaten the continuance of her Majesties charge, yet it was the most sure way to lessen the Army, and end the warre in short time, which onely forraigne invasion could hinder, in which case, it would be no longer the warre of Ireland, but the warre of England in Ireland, and would require as royall supplies, as if a part of England were invaded by so mighty a Prince. That the Garrisons upon Tirone were left so strong in numbers, as that every of them a part, might without apparant hazard, not onely withstand all the Force, wherewith Tyrone was able in any one place to make head against them, but bee stirring with some parties to seeke out him and his Creaghts in their Fastnesses, and to keepe them from feeding, or stirring upon the Plaine, which must necessarily undoe the rebels, and this effect of the Summers service would appeare in the next winter. For if in the meane time it were not his Lordships hap, according to his earnest endeavour, to get Tyrones head, which was a worke of difficultie, not to be hoped in so short a time, yet he was confident to cut off so many of his members, as he should not bee

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able to continue in any one place, but should bee forced to flie from bush to bush like a Wood-kerne, as now hee did, so long as the Army kept the field, which being dissolved, hee would soone grow to strength againe, except the Garrisons were kept strong, so as he might not dare to appeare himselfe, or to feede his Creaghts upon the Plaine, which could not be performed without having great store of victuals to maintaine the Garrisons. That for the matter of fortifications, whereas their Lordships noted the summes demanded to bee excessive, this demand proceeded from a zeale to secure the Kingdome speedily, and by entring into a Royall charge at once, to cut off her Majesties continuing charge, which being now above three hundred thousand pound yeerely, it seemed good husbandry, if by bestowing one hundred thousand pound at once, especially in the new mixed coyne, her Majesty might both secure the Kingdome against forraigne invasion, and so bridle the Townes and Countrie, as halfe the said yeerely charge might be presently saved, and yet the Army might be drawne stronger into the field then now it could bee: for it would be lesse charge to her Majestie, to keepe twenty men in a Castle costing five hundred pound the building, then to keepe one hundred men in a Fort built for one hundred pound, yet that hee would conforme himselfe to her Majesties pleasure in that point, imploying the money allowed to the best he possibly could. That whereas hee the Deputie had moved, that the Captaines might provide clothes for their companies, now upon better consideration hee thought the old course of clothing them by the Merchants was of necessitie to be continued. That touching Neale Garve, his Lordship found him to bee of nature fierie and violent, and with all extremely both proud and covetous, and as Sir Henrie Dockwra had very well described him to their Lordships, to bee in his desires and demaunds most unreasonable, and almost intollerable, so as he that must containe him within any fitting bounds, especially when he shuld be denied any

*The
fortifications.*

*Neale Garve's
nature.*

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thing that he affects, or be enjoyned to do any thing that he did not like, must be of an infinite patience; for at such times he used to breake out in a fashion most hardly to bee indured, although his Lordship professed, that he tooke it rather to bee want of breeding, and of knowledge to discerne, when he hath good usage and when hard (for through that defect he still thought himselfe wronged, and out of that conceit grew to that distemper), then any want of good affection to the State. For Sir Henry Dockwra did acknowledge, that upon all occasions of service, that had not appeared evidently to prejudice him in his particular, he shewed himselfe forward, and very ready to the hazarding of his owne person very often. In which respect his Lordship holding him worth the cherishing, (being besides well followed by all his Country, so as her Majesties service received very great furtherance both by him and them), was therefore resolved, according to her Majesties warrant lately received, to passe him the grant of his Country.

*The Spaniards
ready to
returne into
Ireland.*

His Lordship further wrote, that he received many advertisements, that the Spaniards were ready to returne into Ireland, which though he for his part beleevd not in regard their Lordships thought the contrary, yet the people here by many letters from their friends in Spaine were made confident, that they would make a new and strong invasion, before Michaelmas day at the furthest. That in this regard he made haste to draw the warre to some good end, no way so well to bee done, as by planting strong Garrisons upon Tirone, and by drawing from him his strongest partakers, to which purpose he had sent Sir Henrie Folliot to governe the Garrison lately planted at Ballishannon, who had instructions to receive Mac Guyre to mercy, upon condition he would be content to have his Country divided betweene O Connor Roe and himselfe, and would deliver to her Majesties use the Castle of Eniskillin with the Ordinance therein. His L^p further signified, that when the Garrison of Ballishannon had effected the intended service, he would leave

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it as a Warde, this same and all other fortifications being so made, as one smal Fort of very good strength was first framed guardable by a few, to which was added a greater Fort of lesse strength & charge, like to a bawne or yard, wherein many upon occasion might be lodged, so as if at any time one Company were found sufficient, the rest being drawne away, the losse of the bigger Fort, (being commanded by the lesser) would be of little moment, and yet might bee kept fit to receive greater numbers, if it were thought fit to send them againe at any time. Adding that if the Queene would be pleased to build a little Castle in every one of the lesser Forts, it would greatly lessen her Majesties charge in the numbers of men, and yet be sufficient perpetually to bridle the Irish.

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The nine and twentieth of July, the Lord Deputie being in Monaghan, received letters from Sir George Carew, Lord President of Mounster, by the hands of Sir Samuel Bagnol whom the Lord Deputie had sent into Mounster to bring from thence fiftene hundred foote, which accordingly hee had performed. These letters advertised certaine expectation of the Spaniards present invading Mounster, with great forces able to keepe the field, without any support from the Irish Rebels, which expectation was grounded upon the confessions of many comming out of Spaine, and by divers letters sent from thence by the Irish, but especially was confirmed by the arrivall of a Spanish ship at Ardea, bringing a good proportion of munition to Oswillyvan Beare, Captaine Tyrrell, and other Rebels in Mounster, together with a good summe of money, to be distributed among them, for their incouragement to hold out in rebellion, till the Spanish succours should arrive. And the Lord President signified his feare of a generall defection, upon the Spaniards first arrivall, which hee gathered from the confidence of all the Rebels in that Province, who having before sought for mercy in all humblenesse, and with promise to merit it by service, now since the Spanish ship

*Letters from
Sir George
Carew.*

*Arrivall of a
Spanish ship
at Ardea.*

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arrived, were growne proud (calling the King of Spaine their King, and their ceasing from rebellion, to be the betraying of their King and of the Catholike cause), yea, fell nothing from this insolency, though they had bin some times beaten by him, many of their chiefe men killed, and had lost the strong Castle of Dunboy. And the twentieth of July, the Lord President advertised new intelligences of Spanish forces in great numbers, lying ready at the Groyne either to bee sent for Ireland, or the Low Countries, whereof 2000 being horse, there was no probabilitie that they should bee sent by sea for the Low Countries, since they might more conveniently bee raised in those parts. Wherefore hee resolutely beleev-
ing they were intended for Ireland, desired that for speede of intelligences, a running Post might againe be established betwene Corke and Dublin.

*A running
Post betwene
Corke and
Dublin.*

The Lord Deputie by this time had planted a Garrison in Monaghan, wherein hee left for the present Sir Christopher S. Laurence with his 25 horse, and 150 foote, and under him Captaine Esmond with his foote one hundred fifty. This Garrison lay fitly to secure the Pale from Northerne incursions, and to prosecute those Rebels which were like to stand out longest. This done, his Lordship tooke, burned, and spoiled all the Ilands in those parts of greatest strength, placing wards in some of them. And finding Mac Mahown chiefe of Monaghan to stand upon proud termes (though otherwise making sute to bee received to mercy), his Lordship spoiled and ransacked all that Countrie, and by example thereof, brought many Chiefes of adjoining Countries to submit to mercy, with as good shew of dutie and obedience as could bee desired, and more strict othes and pledges then had formerly been required. So as now, from the Bann to the Dartry (including all Tyrone) and from thence to Dublin, the whole Country was cleared, and the chiefe Lords more assured, then they were ever before. His Lordship placed Connor Roe Mac Guyre (to whom her Majesty had lately given the Chiefery of Fermannagh)

*Mac
Mahown's
Countrie
spoiled.*

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in the principall house of Mac Mahown, Chiefe of Monaghan, lying within two miles of Fermannagh, so as he might from thence easily plant and settle himselfe in his owne Country, and so bee able to doe her Majesty many good services in those parts.

This done his Lordship returned to the Newry, meaning there for a short time to refresh his wearied forces. The 29 of July, his Lordship and the Counsell with him, made to the Lords in England a relation of the past services (which for brevity I omit), and wrote further as followeth. Upon such brutes as we heare of a new invasion out of Spaine, (the L. President in a manner assuring us that they will in that Province invade presently with a strong Army of 15000 foot and 2000 horse) we are much distracted what next to do; for if we should draw that way, to provide to entertaine them, wee should loose the advantage of this prosecution, and spend another yeere unprofitably, which wee grieve to thinke upon, and yet perhaps misse of their place of landing. If we proceede, as we yet intend, to draw this warre to a speedy end (which is that which we acknowledge we do most affect), we shall bee the lesse able to make that defensive stoppe to their invasion, that wee might, if we attended that businesse onely. We do therefore most humbly and earnestly desire to be directed from your Lordships (who in likelihood best know the Spaniards intentions) which of these courses we should most apply our selves unto, otherwise we are resolved, whatsoever befall, to prosecute the warre Northward with all earnestnesse, out of the desire wee have to draw the warre to an end, and ease her Majestie of that excessive charge, which to our exceeding grieve we observe her to be at, which we doubt not to effect to her great contentment, and ease her Majestie speedily of a great part of her charge, if we be not interrupted by the Spaniard; for besides the good hold we have gotten of those, that have already submitted themselves, which by all arguments of sound and sincere meaning in them, we tooke to be better and

*How to meet
the Spaniards.*

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*Tyrone beaten
out of his
Countrie.*

more assured then any that was taken heretofore, since her Majestie and her Ancesters enjoyed this Kingdome, especially with the holds that we have planted among them, wee have set downe such a plot for the prosecution of the rest, upon all hands at one instant, so soone as wee take the field next, which is agreed upon the tenth of the next moneth, (till which time wee have thought fit to refresh this Army overtoiled & wearied out with continuall working upon the Forts, that we have made, and with exceeding great marches, which we were driven to, for lacke of meanes to carrie victuals with us for a longer time), as we are very confident we shall in short time ruine or subdue all these rebels. For we have left no man in all the North that is able to make any very great resistance, or that hath not made meanes to bee received to mercy, O Rourke onely excepted, who hitherto hath been furthest off from feeling the furie of our prosecution. Tyrone is alreadie beaten out of his Countrie, and lives in a part of O Canes, a place of incredible fastnesse, where though it be impossible to doe him any great hurt, so long as hee shall bee able to keepe any force about him, the waies to him, being unaccessible with an Army, yet by lying about him, as we meane to doe, we shall in short time put him to his uttermost extremitie, and if not light upon his person, yet force him to flie the Kingdome. In the meane time we can assure your Lordships thus much, that from O Canes Country, where now he liveth, which is to the Northward of his owne Countrie of Tirone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late have seene any but dead carcasses, meereley starved for want of meate, of which kinde wee found many in divers places as wee passed. The forces which last wee drew out of Mounster, being fifteene hundred foote, above the Mounster Lyst, (which the Lord President desired to retaine there onely till hee had ended his businesse at Donboy) are now under the command of Sir Samuel Bagnol, (presently upon their arrivall to the

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borders) directed by the Annely to prosecute O Rourke, where most fitly he may joyne with the forces of Connaght, and shall bee met withall by those of Ballishannon, commanded by Sir Henrie Folliot. All those will helpe us greatly to pen up the Northerne Rebels on that side, when wee next attempt them (as by the tenth of August wee meane to doe) from Loughfoyle and Carickfergus, which Sir Arthur Chichester from thence is now very well enabled for, by the meanes of the Garrisons we last planted at Toome, and upon Lough Sidney, both being on that side of the Lough, that lies next upon Tirone. And as those forces on Connaght side, lie very fitly to assist us, for the speedie dispatch of the worke, so are they very ready to intertaine the Spaniards, if they should land in Connaght, and not much unfit for Mounster, if they should arrive there. Wee have directed them therefore severally to applie and bend their endeavours to answere these sundrie occasions. And this in our providence is the best course that we can thinke upon; for by the same, if Spaniards come not, wee shall goe on verie roundly with our businesse, and wee hope (by the grace of God) performe it to your great contentment, and if they come (which is the worst), they will be able to make some good defensive warre, till wee with the rest shall draw unto them, and then we cannot hope to doe any more, untill your Lordships supply us royally out of England. For if the Spaniard come so strong in horse and foote, as is reported, and as it must needs be thought he will, (finding the errour that the last time he committed), it may not be expected at our hands with all the Forces wee can draw to head, leaving some Forts guarded, (as we must needs doe, to bridle and keepe in awe the Countrey, and to keep our former labours from being utterly overthrowne), that wee shall be able of our selves to put them from any place that they have a minde to hold, but must rather give them way, till we be better furnished. Wee are therefore humbly to desire your Lordships, if the Spaniards arrive, or if you expect them cer-

*Sir Samuel
Bagnol's
forces.*

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*Abuses of
victuals.*

tainely, then to thinke upon us favourably, and to supply our wants, and that speedily, especially men, munition, and victuals, for this Kingdome will not be able to affoord us any thing for such a warre, as then wee must make, which your Lordships cannot but know farre better then wee can expresse, for as wee have noted heretofore (which we beseech you give us leave still to remember you of), it will not then be any longer the warre of Ireland, but the warre of England in Ireland, to the infinite danger and comber of them both, though for our parts wee will most cheerefully undergoe the toyle and hazard thereof, as it becommeth us. To conclude, wee must acquaint your Lordships with a very great abuse crept in amongst the Ministers of the victuals, which doth marvellously prejudice her Majesties service here: Wee can never know from any of them when the victuals arrive in any part, whether it be part of an old contract, or of a new, nor indeed whether it be for her Majesty or for themselves: by that meanes we can never find how we are provided for, nor what we may further expect, and that which worse is, the Rebels get of the best victuall that is sent hither, and yet wee cannot call the victualer to account thereof, for he affirmes stiffely, that he is warranted by your Lordships to sell it for his benefit, and so as hee sell it to the subject, (how ill affected soever), it is no fault of his, if the Rebelle afterward get it. It is in vaine for us by our extreame toile to spoile the Rebels corne, and wast their Countrey, (the best way yet found to bring them to obedience), if they can get that English victuals for their money, which we verily thinke was provided for those that serve her Majesty here, and the best of it too, when the poore souldier hath that which is not worth the eating. Thus much wee have of late discovered, which wee leave to your Lordships consideration, not doubting, but it will please you to provide remedy, and so, &c.

The Victualers above mentioned, had obtained of the Lords liberty to sell some victuals, upon pretence (as it

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seemes) that the same would grow musty, and must either be sold or lost, but they abused this liberty so farre, as the best victuals were sold to the Irish Subjects, and by them, to those that were in actuall rebellion, while they made bold to utter their musty provisions to the Queenes Army.

The seventh of August the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir Arthur Chichester as likewise to Sir Henry Dockwra, to make all things in readines against his taking the field, which he purposed to doe within three daies, and his Lordship projected with them, in case Tyrone should goe into Fermanagh, how to turne their faces upon him that way, or otherwise to draw into Cormacke mac Barons Countrey, for since her Majesty would not be induced to shew any mercy to Tyrone himselfe, the onely way to end the warre was to force Cormacke, either presently by feare of his Countries spoiling, or in short time by planting a garrison at the Cloher, to submit himselfe. Some few daies after his Lordship received from her Majesty this following Letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and wellbeloved, We greet you well. *The Queen's letter.*
Although We have heard nothing from you directly since Our last dispatch, yet We impute it to no neglect of yours, having so great cause to judge the best of your actions, when every dispatch from other parts of Our Kingdome, reports of great honour in the successe of Our Army under you, a matter specially appearing by those letters, which We have seene directed to our Treasurer at Warres in Ireland, containing the discourse of your Marches, and abiding in the heart of Tyrone, and the recovery of that Iland, and that Ordinance of Ours, which had beene foully lost before. In which respect Wee value the same so much the more acceptably. We have also thought good at this time to adde this further, that We are glad to find that you are joined with Dockwra and Chichester, because that is the thing which

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*A Fleet sent
to the Coast of
Spaine.*

hath beene long wished, often attempted, but never before effected, (being indeed the true consequence of Our Plantation, with great expence both at Loughfoyle and in other parts of Ulster). So as when Wee perceive that now the time is come, when you may make an universall prosecution, and when We find that your owne words give such hope, that this ungratefull Traitor shall never be able to hold up his head againe, if the Spaniard doe not arrive, Wee thought it fit to touch these two things following. First to assure you, that Wee have sent a Fleete to the Coast of Spaine, notwithstanding Our former Fleet returned with the Caricke, there to attend his Coast, and all such Fleetes as shall be prepared to annoy Us. Next We doe require you, even whilst the Iron is hot, so to strike, as this may not onely prove a good Summers journey, but may deserve the title of that action, which is the warres conclusion. For furtherance whereof, We have spared no charge, even now againe to send a Magazine of victuall, and other necessities, to those places, by which you may best maintaine those garrisons, with which you resolve to bridle those Rebels. We have heard likewise from Carew our President of Mounster, that he hath taken the Castle was held by the Rebels at Beere-Haven, and defended with the Spanish Ordinance. In that Province We find by him, that there is constant expectation of Spanish succours, for which reason, and considering what promises the King of Spaine doth make them, and with what importunity they begge it at his hands, besides one other craft they use, to hide from him all feare, which might divert him from that enterprize, agreeing amongst themselves, how great soever their miseries be, to conceale the same from him and his Ministers, as appeareth well by a letter of Odonnels owne hand intercepted of late, by which he writes to a Rebelle called O Connor Kerry, desiring him to advertise him of the state of Ireland, but in no sort to deliver any bad report of their losses, because he would be loth that the Spaniard should know it.

*Beere-Haven
Castle taken
by Sir George
Carew.*



*De his erat vultu, sed lingua, mentis, manus
 Quales erat qui vult discere, scripta legat
 Consulat aut famam: qui lingua, mentis, manus
 Vinceret hunc, famam iudice, rarus erat.*

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We doe require you very earnestly to be very wary in taking the submissions of these Rebels, who ever make profit of their comming in. Some let slip of purpose by the Archtraitor, others when they have compounded for their owne peace, are notoriously knowne to fill their Countries with more Cattle then ever they had in seven yeeres before, which is a matter that most notoriously discovereth, that the great bordering Traitors, (whose Countries are sought to be laied wast) doe find a safe protection for their goods under them. A matter whereof we speake in no other sort, then by way of caution, knowing that no rule is so generall, either to leave or take, which may not change, in respect of circumstances. Given under our Signet. At our Mannor of Greenwich the fifteenth day of July, in the foure and fortieth of Our Raigne.

*Rebel
cunning.*

To this letter, in the Margent, were added these words in her Majesties owne hand: We con you many laudes for having so neerely approched the villanous Rebelle, and see no reason why so great forces should not end his daies, whose wickednesse hath cut off so many, and should judge my selfe mad, if we should not change your authority for his life, and so we doe by this. Since neither Spaniard, nor other accident, is like to alter this minde, as she that should blush to receive such indignity after so royall prosecution. We have forgotten to praise your humility, that after having beene a Queenes Kitchin maide, you have not disdained to bee a Traitors skullion. God blesse you with perseverance.

*A Margent
note in her
Majesties
owne hand.*

Your Sovereigne, E. R.

At the same time his Lordship received this following letter from Master Secretarie.

MY very good Lord; it must not seeme strange to you, to find this marginall cotation in her Majesties letter, whereby the last authority (in pardoning Tyrone) is so absolutely retrenched. For first, as her Majesty (in these cases) may well (out of experience of governe-

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*The meaning
of the
Margent note.*

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ment) assume more to her royall prudence then any of her Counsell: so (God in Heaven doth know) that even in these great causes, shee is pleased to proceed more absolutely then ever, according as shee pleaseth to approve her will, by the Rules of her owne Princely judgement. So as if you consider how little good the last authority (which was given you to pardon no more but his life) could have effected, you will easily imagine that wee thought it to little purpose here, to offend by contestation against this letter, when in both the directions the difference was of so little consequence. Lastly, the change that is, proceeded meerely from the hopes which your owne letters to the Treasurer have given, of our opinion so to ruine him as he should never be able againe to stand; whereof it is true, that her Majesty hath taken so good and comfortable hold, the same being so just and agreeable to the difficulty of her owne nature to forgive that offender, as although in effect shee had done little more then nothing before, yet shee thinkes any mercy to him to bee much. It remaineth therefore that I resort to explaine my selfe in my former advice, when I and some others wished you, though you had warrant to conclude for no more then life onely, that you should notwithstanding (seeing you had warrant sufficient to heare from him), in no case forbear to discover what were his highest, or what would be his lowest; for this was our intent, as faithfull Counsellors, if you found the State to be such, as (without his submission to be a Subject) all others comming in would be idle, and that to offer him nothing but life, (which he hath already, and will keepe too long, I feare mee) were the way to lacke that good, which by yeelding to more, might have been effected, that then and in such case, you should not forestall him so peremptorily in your dealing with him, as to repell those overtures which hee would make: for though you were not to conclude for more then you had warrant, yet when you might send over what it was, and what your opinion was thereupon, it might be, that

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when her Majesty should see what might have come, shee would be content (for the good of her Kingdome) to descend from the greatnesse of her owne heart, full of just indignation against him. These things I touched, out of the infinite caution, whereunto the experience of my misfortune to be misjudged presseth mee more violently, then any other, whereby I would secure my selfe against any doubts, that I would practice upon you in any thing, for any respect whatsoever, which might be pernicious to you, to whom I have professed all honest friendship. For I protest unto you, howsoever it may be some mens Phylosophy, to conclude that all private considerations must be extinguished, when there is question of the good of a mans Countrey, (because it challengeth a part, before Wife, Children, or Friends), yet doe I not thinke it intended by that great rule, that any honest man ought to betray an honest trust of a worthy friend, for any respect whatsoever, unlesse he knew that friend who is confident in him, false or wicked to his Countrey, to which he owes so much duty. For that distinction makes great oddes in the question: Of this letter therefore when you shall examine the circumstances, you would quickly discerne, how little it ought to trouble you, for if you had already treated, you had warrant for it, if you have concluded (according to the authority of that warrant), the new restraint comes too late, if not, then is your Lordship to obey this direction, and in obeying it, to content your Sovereigne, as then advised, whereby you are justified to the world whatsoever come, because you have obeyed, and if that successe succeed not, which was hoped for by a moderate measure of grace (following an orderly and sharpe prosecution, and never otherwise to be but at great length), you may then resort to her Majesties own self, forasmuch as you shal come short of that, to which you might have arrived, if you had not bin restrained. For prooffe wherof it wil be very fit, that you do write of the conditions particularly, which is all that either you or we can say,

*A good
Phylosophy.*

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*A good speech
of the
Cardinal
Granuella*

[II. iii. 230.]

where we are all bound, first, to give advice according to our conscience, and then to yeeld obedience. I do conclude, that it was (for his own particular) a good speech of the Cardinal Granuella, who when he found the Emperour grow more resolute daily against his Counsel, said, He wished that from thence forward his counsell might never bee followed; for said he, if it bee bad and not received, I am glad for my Countrey, if good and not followed, yet it must value me to my Master. And so much for that matter: Only this I have thought convenient for both our particulars, seeing it is impossible that this dispatch can come so soone to you, as the Queene may expect, that the Secretary receive it from me, and you from him, for our discharge, lest her Majesty should suspect, that out of zeale to the cause, (howsoever we dare not contest), yet that I have delaied to send it, or you pretend to have beene longer without it, then you have beene, to which purpose I have written to him, to take care of the sending it to you with expedition, and to advertise me both of his receipt from me, and yours from him. And thus for this time I commit your Lordship to Gods protection. From the Court at Greenwich this sixteenth of July 1602.

Postscript.

Postscript. Pardon me for using another hand, which I hope you will beare with, being of no other subject then an honest Secretary may set downe: because I am not sure whether you can perfectly reade her Majesties hand, I send you the same in a coppy, the latter part whereof, being suteable with the former stile of favour, that was wont to passe betweene you, grew by the occasion of your owne Postscript, when you wrote to the Treasurer: that you had beene a good while in Oneales Kitchin, which you meant to warme so well, as he should keep the worse fiers ever after. God knowes I doe asmuch desire to heare of your successe, as ever I did to heare of any thing, because upon it judgement may be made, which is likely to follow, your comming or tarrying. In which bee assured that I will doe you all the right to

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which religion, honour, and affection can tie me. In the meane time take this comfort, that her Majesty doth feelingly apprehend your vertue, and begins now to speake and write in her wonted stile, and therefore I grow daily more confident, that wee shall spend some yeeres together in her service. For my selfe I will now give over professions, and so doe you, for neither of our hearts have ever beene accusable for basenes to our friend, though in our kind we have severall tastes of ingratitude, onely take this still for assurance, that I am your affectionate friend to command, Robert Cecyll.

Likewise at the same time the Lord Deputy received this following letter from the Lords in England.

After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. Although her Majesty hath by her letter taken notice of your Lordships wise and happy proceedings, by a letter which hath beene sent from Dublyn by the Treasurer, upon your taking of the Iland in Tyrone, yet wee are moved to expresse our simpaty with your good fortune, both out of duty to the publike, and particular affection to your selfe, whom God hath made so happy an instrument of her Majesties service. Wee have likewise heard from the President of Mounster of his taking in of Beere-Haven, whereby we had well hoped that Province would have proved lesse troublesome then yet we can hope, first because there are many provincially Rebels out, next because the hollownes of those that are reputed subjects, appeareth many waies, (though not so visible to all), which is onely maintained by the assurance they have of succours from Spaine, whereof (as we have often said) wee can make no other judgement, then that what he is able to doe, he hath a will to doe, and what he hath not done, hath onely beene hindered by the remaining of her Majesties Fleete upon his Coast, and which shee resolveth to maintaine till Winter be well come on, so as seeing here is done as much as her Majesty can doe, and that many difficulties at home with

*A Letter
from the
Lords in
England.*

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[II. iii. 231.]

*Horse for
Mounster.*

himselfe, and actions of others abroad, may make suspension if not diversion from that Spanish invasion. We thinke your Lordship shall doe well, to take time while it serveth in Ulster, seeing we perceive you have now so ordred the matter, as if he should land in the North, you are neere him, & if in the South, you have meanes now to draw most of the Forces of the Kingdome to make head against him. So as wee have little else to say for the present, but to commend your proceedings, and expect the successe: Although we find your Lordship had very good reason to draw away Sir Samuell Bagnoll with those extraordinary Companies, which you were content to spare till the taking of the Castle of Donboy, yet we have thought it very convenient, because it is worth your Lordships knowledge, to let you understand, that if the Spaniards shall attempt to land in Ireland with an Army, all our intelligences doe confirme, that it will be in Mounster, or upon the neerer parts of Connaght, and if this Summer at all, it will be betweene this and Bartholmewtide. In which respect, we thought it good to remember your Lordship, to have care for a moneth or two, to send some forces to strengthen that Province, above the Lyst, whereby at their first discent her Majesties forces may keepe some such reputation, as the Provincials, whose eye will onely be upon the Army, may not grow too insolent, nor the Governour there bee forced to leave the field. For which purpose we thinke it not amisse, that you should presently send some horse, though you spare the fewer foote, considering the weakenesse of those numbers that are there, to answere any such occasion: For the North, although wee doubt not but Odonnell is fed with the same hope that the Mounster Rebels are, yet we doe not expect any great forces to land in those parts more Northerly then the Towne of Galloway at the furthest. Wee have now no more wherewith to hold you at this time, then with the recommendation of all your actions to Gods protection. From the Court at Greenewich, this eighteenth of July 1602.

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The Army being refreshed with these few daies rest, the Lord Deputy had determined to leave the Newry, and take the field againe upon the tenth of August: but upon intelligence that Tyrone purposed to send Brian mac Carty backe into Killultagh to disturbe those parts, and so to divert the prosecution of Tyrone as much as they could, his Lordship directed Sir Arthur Chichester from Masserine, and Sir Henry Davers from the Newry, to draw part of the forces into that Countrey, and thence to invest the Fort of Enishlaghlin, being the onely hold the Rebels had in those parts, in which (for the strength thereof), all the goods of such as were fled into Tyrone, were left.

*Enishlaghlin
Fort invested.*

This resolution the Lord Deputy signified to Sir Henry Dockwra, who expected to meete his Lordship in Tyrone about this time, according to their former purpose. And withall advertised him, that he had sent such a part of the Army to Charlemount, and the other Forts neere to the Blackewater, as would be (in a manner) to as good purpose, for any service Sir Henry Dockwra should thinke fit to attempt upon Tyrone, or for the stopping of him from passing with his Creaghts from the fastnesse wherein he now lay, as if his Lordship were there present with the whole forces. For his Lordships troope of horse, being lodged at Charlemount, with more then a thousand foote in Lyst, and Sir Henry Davers his troope of horse, being lodged at Armagh, with some seven hundred foote more in the Forts adjoyning, a party of two hundred horse, and a thousand foure hundred foote might be drawne by Sir Henry Dockwra from thence, upon any sudden occasion, and these forces, together with the Companies at Mount Norreys, and at Mountjoy Forts, were able to doe great matters upon Tyrone, if hee could discover his purposes by any good espiall, yet his Lordship offered himselfe with those forces he had left, to draw presently up into Tyrone, if Sir Henry Dockwra thought it needfull, rather then any thing fit for the service should bee omitted. And whereas Sir Henry Dockwra seemed

*Advice to
Sir Henry
Dockwra.*

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*Ocanes
submission.*

to doubt of Henry Oge his second, his Lordship was so confident of his sound meaning, as he gave assurance on his part, that hee would not onely not doe any thing to give the State offence, but would advertise any thing he could learne to further the service, and rather then faile, would draw his whole force upon Tyrone, to which also his Lordship had by his letters earnestly perswaded him. And touching Ocanes submission, his Lordship wrote to Sir H. Dockwra, that he would be glad to see him, when he came into Tyrone, which should be presently after the businesse at Enishlaghlan was dispatched, and then he would be willing to give him all reasonable contentment. Lastly, his Lordship advised Sir H. Dockwra, so to carry his businesse, as hee might be ready to performe his directions, if the Spaniards should againe land in Ireland, as a strong rumour went, that they shortly intended.

[II. iii. 232.] The tenth of August the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to Master Secretary Cecyll.

*Ordinance for
Galloway
Fortification.*

Sir I understand from Sir Oliver Lambert, that the fortification at Galloway is almost finished, and that there will be needfull for that place, to have foure Demy-Cannons, and foure whole Culverings, (but I thinke it will be well, if they be all Culverings, and of Iron), which he thinkes will make it of very great use against the Spaniards, if they happen to land there, as he suspecteth: For that and other such great workes, I thinke we must necessarily have some good great Ordinance, and therefore beseech you Sir to be a meane, that wee may be speedily supplied with a score of Iron Peeces, well furnished, and fitted to be placed there, and elsewhere in Mounster, to the most advantage of the service, whereby I am very confident that this whole Countrey will much the better be secured, and her Majesty greatly eased in her continuing charge, though her present charge seemes thereby much increased. I protest I doe apply with all carefulnesse my best endeavours, so to husband

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this businesse, as her Majesty in a very short time shall find abatement of her charge here, to her owne contentment, if I be not interrupted by the Spaniards; and if they doe come, I doubt not but these greater workes will keepe the Townes (neere which they stand) in so great awe, as they will not suddenly nor easily fall to their party, as otherwise in all likelihood they would, so as they shew themselves any thing strong before any of them, and then will it manifestly appeare, that this cost was bestowed to great good purpose: for the keeping of one Towne from revolting, will very well countervaille the whole charge, that her Majesty shall be at, in planting of all those fortifications, and yet will they afterwards bee such bridles to the Countries all about them, as they shall never bee able to rebell againe. I conceive that by the placing of a Constable and a convenient Ward in such of them as shall be thought fittest to be maintained, her Majesty shall be better and cheaper served, then by laying of Companies or parts of Companies in them, that must upon occasions be removed. For when one man onely hath the charge thereof, who knowes that he must be accomptable for it, he will no doubt have much the greater care, and may more commodiously be fitted with all things necessary: but then must I intreat you Sir, to take order that these places be not bestowed there at Court, upon such as will be sutors for them, (of which kind I make accompt there will be many, since I partly know some of them already), for I shall thereby be disabled to doe her Majesty the service I affect, and become meerely an unprofitable Officer for her, in as much as it will be here soone observed, that when these places are not left to my disposall, who should best know both how every man deserves, and for what each mans serving here is fittest, it will be to little purpose for any of them to make me an eye witnes of their well deserving, when it is not in my power to reward them, but will rather use meanes to her Majesty, or the Lords, hoping to get that they aime at, by a much easier and shorter course, which

*A Constable
and Ward to
be placed in
each Towne.*

*Court
Favours.*

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Insufficient
Captaines.*

[II. iii. 233.]

I confesse to you Sir I doe with some greefe observe, in the recommending of many hither for Captaines places, when some have given over their charge here, by which meanes I can neither lessen the Queenes charge, as I would, by cashing of their Companies, nor preferre others thereunto, whom I see daily to have very well deserved it, and by this meanes comes in, both selling of Companies, (a thing which I would otherwise never suffer), and the placing of such Captaines, as those which we found here at the beginning of this warre, whose insufficiency had almost lost this Kingdome. I beseech you Sir conceive, that I have just cause to be grieved, that must draw upon my selfe the hatred of a great many, that I should discharge in the great cash that I intend, who will ever hold me the overthrow of them, and all their fortunes, especially if I be not able to bestow upon some of the worthiest of them, such other places in this Kingdome, as have fallen within the gift of my Predecessors here. Although (God is my witnes) this doth nothing so much grieve mee, as that I shall thereby bee disabled to serve her Majesty as I would, to make a speedy end of the warre, that might be both safe and durable, by leaving such in all places, as I know to be best able to serve her, and such as if they did not imploy their time in her continuall service, might more justly then any other, with their presence importune her for rewards of their former services. And so Sir, &c.

At the same time the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to her Majestie.

May it please your Sacred Majestie.

*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to her
Majestie.*

I Have received to my inestimable comfort, your gracious letters of the fifteenth of July, for none of my indevours doe satisfie mee in doing you service, untill I finde them approved by your Majestie; and when I have done all that I can, the uttermost effects of my labours doe appeare so little to my owne zeale to doe more, that I am often ashamed to present them unto your faire

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and royall eyes, which is the onely cause that I doe not more often presume to present your Majestie with the account of my proceedings, led on with a hope and restlesse desire, to improve them unto some such degree, as might bee more worthy of your knowledge. And whereas it pleaseth your Majestie to restraîne mee from hearkening unto the Arch-Traytor Tyrone, were it not in respect of my desire to cut off suddenly the chargeable thread of this warre, there could nothing come more welcome unto me, then to bee his continuall Scourge, and as (by the favour of God) he is already brought to a verie low ebbe, so utterly to cut him off, or cast him out of this Countrie. And although I have great reason to presume, that if hee bee not assisted by any forraigne power, the ruine of his estate is certaine, yet how, as a Vagabond Woodkerne, hee may preserve his life, and how long, I know not; and yet therein I humbly desire your Majestie to beleieve, that I will omit nothing, that is possible to be compassed. And for the caution your Majesty doth vouchsafe to give mee, about taking in submitties to their advantage, and to the abuse of your mercy, I beseech your Majestie to thinke, that in a matter of so great importance, my affection will not suffer me to commit so grosse a fault against your service, as to doe any thing, for the which I am not able to give you a very good account, the which above all things, I desire to doe at your owne royall feete, and that your service here, may give me leave to fill my eyes with their onely deare and desired object. I beseech God confound all your enemies, and unfaithfull subjects, and make my hand as happy, as my heart is zealous, to doe you service.

*A welcome
Scourge.*

Your Majesties truest servant,
Mountjoy.

The Fort of Enishlanghen above mentioned, (the investing whereof made the Lord Deputie deferre the taking of the feild), was seated in the midst of a great Bogge, and no way accessable, but through thicke Woods,

*The Fort of
Enishlanghen.*

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*The Fort
yeelded.*

very hardly passable. It had about it two deepe Ditches, both compassed with strong Pallisadoes, a verie high and thicke rampeire of earth, and timber, and well flanked with Bulworkes. For defence of the place fortie two Musketeres, and some twentie swordmen, were lodged in it. But after that our forces, with very good industry had made their approches to the first ditch, the besieged did yeeld the place to the Queene and themselves absolutely to her mercy. So a ward of English was left in the Castle, after the spoile thereof was taken, wherein were great store of plate and the chiefe goods of the best men in the Countrie, being all fled to Tyrone, and the men there taken were brought bound to the Newry, and presented upon the nineteenth of August to the Lord Deputy.

The same day his Lordship wrote this letter following to Master Secretarie Cecyll.

[II. iii. 234.]
*Henry Oneale
broken out of
prison.*

Sir, I have lately written to you at large, and I have now no more matter of importance, to trouble you with, onely since my last, we have taken Enishlaghlen, a place of great importance, and the strongest that I have heard of, to bee held by any Rebell in Ireland. Henrie Oneale, the eldest sonne of Shane Oneale, is broken out of prison, as his brother did the like long before, and because they doe cast themselves (without all conditions) into her Majesties protection, I cannot but use them well: but as things stand now, I doe not see any great use to be made of them, and I feare I shall be more troubled with them, then if they were still where they were. To morrow (by the grace of God) I am againe going into the field, as neere as I can utterlie to waste the Countrie of Tyrone, and to prevaile the Garrisons there of some Corne, to keepe their horses in the Winter, which being done, I will leave the Garrisons to take their effect; which when they are well provided, and aswell placed, will doe more then an Armie. And Sir, except things fall out much contrarie to that, which wee have

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good reason to expect, I presume, that if the Queene keepe these Garrisons strong, and well provided all this Winter, shee may before the next Spring send into this Kingdome Sir Robert Gardner, with some other good Common-wealths men, with her pleasure how much, and how every man shall hold his land, and what lawes shee will have currant here; and I am confident it will bee obeyed. Neither is the reducing of this Province to bee too little regarded; for ill inhabited as it was, with no industrie, and most part wasted, I can assure you, the Earle of Tyrone in the time of these warres, did raise upon Ulster above fourescore thousand pounds by the yeere, and to fall from that excesse, I thinke they might bee brought to yeeld the Queene willingly, much more then ever she expected presently, and in time more then I dare now promise. And after this Winter, I thinke she may with-draw her Garrisons, onely leaving Wardes in the places, and if I bee not much deceived, you shall find, that these men will bee the last of all Ireland, that will forsake the Queenes party, and I presume after this Winter doe the Queene good service against the Spaniards, if they come: but if they come before, I cannot tell what I may build on: but I perceive by your last letter, they are not likely to bee many, and then, although it may stoppe, yet I hope it shall not overthrow our worke. If there bee no invasion here, if I doe not too much deceive my selfe, I should doe the Queene in her service of this Countrie more advantage, by my comming over after Michaelmas, then I can doe here. This Gentleman Sir Richard Trever I perceive will settle himself in these parts, by the which hee may doe her Majestie good service; for it is unfit such land as hee hath given him, should lie waste, and it will bee much better to bee ordered by men of his worth and qualitie. And so Sir I beseech God prosper all the Queenes affaires, and make us able to doe her the service, that her Majestie doth expect.

*Sir Robert
Gardner.*

*Sir Richard
Trever.*

Yours Sir to doe you service
Mountjoy.

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*Tyrone fled
into
Fermannagh.*

[II. iii. 235.]

The next day, being the twentieth of August, the Lord Deputie tooke the field, and incamped in the midde way betweene the Newrie and Armagh, and there understanding that Tyrone was fled into Fermannagh, and thereupon conceiving that the warre was then chiefly to bee made that way, his Lordship resolved, first, to spoile all the Countrie of Tyrone, and to banish all the inhabitants from thence, injoyning such of them as would become subjects, to live on the South-side of Blackwater, so that if Tyrone returned, hee should finde nothing in the Countrie but the Queenes Garrisons. Further to prevent his returne, and to make the warre more conveniently upon him, and the remnant of the Rebels, his Lordship resolved to plant a Garrison at the Agher, being Cormocks chiefe house, seated neere Fermanagh, and neere Monaghan, whither Sir Henrie Dockwra might draw the greatest part of his forces, and whether in one dayes march (as the passages were now made) most of the forces in the Northerne Garrisons might be drawne together. The nine and twentieth day of August his Lordship passed the bridge at Charle-mount, over the Blackwater, and that night encamped by Dungannon which his Lordship made defensible, leaving a Ward to keepe the place, to bee a retreat for our men, going out upon service, and to preserve the Oates growing there abouts for our horses in the winter.

There his Lordship received this following letter from Master Secretarie.

*Letter from
Master
Secretarie.*

MY very good Lord, your Packets of the nineteenth and nine and twentieth of July, were yesterday delivered me, and withall your private letter to her Majestie, dated the tenth of August, all which were very well allowed of, as hereafter more particularly you shall be advertised, this being rather to advertise you of their receipt, then that there is left any extraordinary matter for me to write unto you, which is not contained in the last dispatches from hence, whereof at the writing of your

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owne, I know you could not advertise the receipt. One great cause of my writing this private letter, is this, that where I see how much it doth distract your minde, to thinke of Spaine behind you, and of the North before you, fearing to bee diverted from the conclusion of your labours, you may perceive in what estate the preparations of Spaine are now, as I am certainly advertised by one of my owne, who is newly arrived from the Ports of Lisbon, where he tooke shipping the one and twentieth of July last (stilo veteri.) There are two great ships, each of one thousand tuns, one called the Saint Andrew, and the other (which shall be the Vice-Admirall) the name forgotten, besides there are but twelve shippes of two hundred tunnes, and downewards, in which it was resolved to send some fifteene hundred men, to have relieved the siege at Beere haven, the newes of the taking whereof was first knowne there the tenth of July, being written from Waterford to Lisbon, and not before. Of these fifteene hundred men, eight hundred came from the Groyne, being part of those that were transported out of Ireland. In the Groyne remaineth Odonnell, and there is onely the great Saint Phillip with ten small barkes, with which he mightily importuned to be sent into the North. If these had been sent into Beere haven in Mounster, hoping upon his arrivall with some one thousand or fifteene hundred men, to have raised the siege, possessed some parts, and made a beginning of a Plantation, hereof great benefit must needes have growne to the Rebels; for as those small numbers which should have been landed in Mounster, with the brute of the rest to follow (which is alwaies multiplied), would have made a distraction of the Ulster prosecution, so any petty descent with him in Ulster, would have raised the new hopes of all those Northerne Rebels. And truly (my Lord) when it is considered, how great a benefit it is to the King of Spaine to consume the Queene with charge in Ireland, by his bestowing onely (once a yeere) some such forlorne Companies, besides that hee thereby keepeth

*The
preparations
of Spaine at
Lisbon.*

The Groyne.

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up some kind of reputation in Europe, in following on his first designe, by sending, though a few, which (being added to that which fame spreadeth of great numbers) filleth the world with continuall rumour of his undertaking humour, I cannot be secured, but that he wil stil feede that fier with fewel, although I know it a vanitie to beleve those other fond reports of such mightie preparations, and such Armies, as he is no way able to imbrace: for your Lordship may bee assured, whatsoever you heare of gathering of numbers by land to this place or that, they have been onely for defence against such attempts, as they did ignorantly suspect from the Queene, and the Low-Countries, and to continue obedience within his Kingdom in the South parts, where the Mores have bin very apt to take armes. And for the Gallies wherof we have heard so many to be brought out of Italy, they were intended for some enterprise upon Larache, so as the bruite that they should have come for Ireland was idle. Only it is true, that Sir Ri. Levison defeated those 8 Gallies, which were come as far to the Norward as Lisbone, under the conduct of Spinola, who undertook to bring them into the Low-countries for Sluse, but of those eight two being sunk, a third spoiled, & never able to go to sea, the other 5 were likewise so torne, and the slaves so mangled, as wee look not to heare of them in these quarters this summer, so as I assure you, though our carick prove nothing so much as we expected, having been much pillaged, and many of the goods taken wet, yet hath Sir Richard Levison in this service deserved an extraordinary reputation. Thus have I now delivered, rather (out of my private affection) my private opinion, that no great Army is intended, then that I meane to contest against the contrarie opinions (which are here continually multiplied from thence, of the great Armies the King of Spaine amasseth), to hinder any preparations which may come from hence, whereby that Kingdome may receive any comfort: First, because I know the very bruite of Levies here, must needes give helpe to your

*Sir R.
Levison
defeats the
Spaniards.*

[II. iii. 236.]

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proceedings; next because I know what a folly it is, in cases which concerne a Kingdome, to dissuade any manner of supplies, whereof the lacke may prove perillous, especially in this State, which is so exhausted (by that warre of Ireland onely) as it is an easie worke to divert all actions of charge, especially whensoever they may thinke to secure their opinions, by maintaining those grounds to which I should incline, to whose place it principally belongeth to give best judgement of forraigne intelligences. I will onely therefore conclude with this, I am sorry to finde my Soveraignes heart so great and magnanimous (though I must confesse she hath very just cause), as not to be contented to have made vertue of necessity, and by her pardon of the greatest Rebelle, to have dissolved the strength of the combination, which being still united with mindes of dispaire, will multiplie still alienation, whereof so potent an enemy as is the King of Spaine, will ever make his benefit; where I am of opinion, that if hee were sure to be pardoned, and live in any securitie, with the qualitie of any greatnesse, such is his wearinesse of his miserie (and so of all the rest), as hee would bee made one of the best instruments in that Kingdome. But I have now gone on too farre, saving that I am apt to take all occasions to exchange my thoughts with you by letters, praying Almighty God so to blesse your endeavours, as we may more enjoy each others company, for the good of her Majesties service. And so I commit you to Gods protection. From the Court at Hicham this seventh of August, 1602.

*The pardon
of Tyrone.*

Your Lordships loving and assured
friend to command

Ro. Cecyll.

The Lord Deputie spent some five dayes about Tullough Oge, where the Oneales were of old custome created, and there he spoiled the Corne of all the Countrie, and Tyrones owne Corne, and brake downe the chaire wherein the Oneales were wont to be created, being of stone,

*Tyrones
Corne spoiled.*

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planted in the open field. Sir Henrie Dockwra, onely with some horse with him, did meete the Lord Deputy here, upon the thirtieth of August, and brought with him Ocane, a late Submittie, having left the English foote at the Omy, where in like sort were the most part of O Canes and young O Donnell's horse and foote, victualled at their owne charge, and ready to attend any service the Lord Deputy should command them. The same day his Lordship understood, that Sir Arthur Chichester was comming towards him by Killeetro, and that Randoll Mac Sorley had offered him to serve the Queene in that journey with five hundred foote, and fortie horse upon his owne charge.

*Bruits of the
Spaniards.*

Whereupon the Lord Deputie resolved to march with the Army to Dunnamore, and thence to the Agher, and in the second daies march upon the sixth of September, his Lordship received letters from the Lord President of Mounster, that foure and twentie Spanish ships were bruited to be arrived at Beere-haven, which newes, though his L^p kept secret, yet the whole Countrie was presently full of it, and from all parts he received the like alarums, insomuch as amongst the Irish it was constantly beleevied, that some Spanish ships were arrived at Carlingford. Notwithstanding, his Lordship left a Garison at the Agher, being a Castle seated in an Iland, and he intrenched a large piece of ground for greater forces, when Sir Henrie Dockwra should draw them thither upon any service, and from that Castle his Lordship brought away two brasse pieces.

[II. iii. 237.]

Tyrone, Brian Mac Art, Mac Mahownd, and Cormack Mac Barron, were fled into the bottome of a great Fastnesse, towards the end of Lough Erne, whom his Lordship followed as farre as hee could possibly carry the Army, yet came not within twelve miles of them, besides, they had a way from thence into Orurkes Country, to which the Army could not passe. Mac Guyre had lately left them, and received the Queenes protection from Sir Henrie Foliott, upon condition to

*Mac Guyre
submitted.*

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put in good pledges for his loialty, and to give Oconnor Roe Mac Guyre the land belonging to him, and to build up the Castle of Eniskellin, which he lately brake downe, delivering the same built at his owne charge into the Queenes possession: and Tyrone and his abovenamed confederates were all poore, and all the Rebels following them, were not above sixe hundred foote, and sixtie horse.

Upon the seventh of September, his Lordship understood by letters from Sir Oliver Lambert, that he was called back from the prosecution of Orurke, by like newes of the Spaniards arrivall.

*Letters from
Sir Oliver
Lambert.*

The same day his Lordship sent backe Sir Henrie Dockwra, and directed him to draw most of his forces (with as much victuals as he could put up) to the Omy, and from thence to the Agher, being twelve miles distant & faire way, there to be resident, and to make the warre till harvest were past, being alwaies ready to follow his Lordships further directions upon any landing of Spaniards. Likewise the next day his Lordship sent backe Sir Arthur Chichester, directing him to lie at Mountjoy Garrison, clearing the Country of Tyrone of all inhabitants, and to spoile all the Corne which he could not preserve for the Garrisons, and to deface al the Ilands formerly taken, being ready to draw upon the Rebels, if they should make any head; yet with advise to bee likewise readie to answere any new directions, if the Spaniards should arrive.

*Orders for
Sir Arthur
Chichester.*

So his Lordship marched backe with his Army, and upon the ninth of September divided all the waste land on the Southside of Blackwater towards the Newry, betweene Hen. Mac Shane and Con Mac Shane, sons to Shane O Neale, only with leave to live there with their Creaghts, and such followers as should come unto them, till her Majesties pleasure were further knowne, and injoyning them to sow their Corne for the next yeere upon the Plaines.

*Shane
O Neale's
sons.*

Thus his Lordship bringing backe with him into the

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Pale fourteene Companies of foote, and one hundred horse, came to the Newrie the eleventh of September, and the next day in his and the Counsels letters to the Lords in England, after the relation of the former services, wrote as followeth.

*The
submissies.*

We have taken the best pledges we could of such as are become subjects, al of them have assisted us with Cowes, most of them with carriages, with men, and with their owne presence, so as if forraigne forces doe not arrive, we make no doubt of them, nor to bring the rest to what termes shall bee fittest for her Majesties Honour and profit. Wee have thought fit to suffer most of the Natives of Tyrone, (the rest being put over the River of the Bann), to follow Henry and Con Mac Shane, and perchance many of them wil not quit them, though the Traitor should returne and grow strong. But for all events, we have spoiled and meane to spoile their Corne, & in respect of the garrisons, and of the Blackwater, their Creaghts can hardly returne, but they wil be stil at our command. If they should prove false, we have good bridles upon them, and at any time their followers, upon leave to dwell in Tyrone, will easily forsake them. These followers seeme to desire nothing more, then to hold their land of the Queene without any dependancy upon the Oneales. Howsoever, for the present, wee thinke good to hold them thus together, partly for the good of the service, and to give these two young men some livelyhood, who (with the rest) being utterly rejected, might by some desperate course much prolong the warre; and partly (wee must confesse freely) out of humane commiseration, having with our eyes daily seene the lamentable estate of that Countrie, wherein wee found everie where men dead of famine, in so much that Ohagan protested unto us, that betweene Tullogh Oge and Toome there lay unburied a thousand dead, and that since our first drawing this yeere to Blackwater, there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone. And sure the poore people of those parts never yet had the meanes to know

[II. iii. 238.]

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God, or to acknowledge any other Sovereigne then the O Neales, which makes mee more commiserate them, and hope better of them hereafter. When wee have conferred with the rest of the Counsell at Dublin, and are better informed of the state of those parts, we will againe presume to write to your Lordships. In the meane time we hasten thither, finding here all, both subjects and others, as fully possessed of the Spaniards comming, as if they were already arrived. The like opinion (as we heare) is generally over al Ireland, upon what ground we know not, for we have not heard any such substantiall intelligence, excepting the brute advertised by the Lord President, and a generall brute brought hither by all shipping, of huge preparations in Spaine, and whether it be desire or feare that makes this report beleaved, it is strange to see how generally and strongly it is apprehended. Wee must renew our former motion to your Lordships, that if the Spaniards doe land here, wee may speedily bee supplied with munition, artillery, and all things else that wee have written for, or that your Lordships in your wisdomes shall finde to be needfull for us, who can best judge what will be fit for an action of so great consequence. And for that we shall be necessarily enforced, wheresoever they happen to arrive, to draw all the forces of the Kingdome together, to make head against them, by which meanes these Northerne parts (especially) being left bare, such as have most readily, and with best arguments of sincere meaning submitted themselves to her Majesties mercy, with intent to live dutifully as becommeth subjects, will be left againe to the tyranny of the Arch-Rebell, for want of defence. We beseech your Lordships to consider, whether it were not more profitable for her Majestie (though for the present somewhat the more chargeable) to inable us to make the warre upon the Spaniards, and yet to go on too with this prosecution in some measure, then for lacke of a convenient force to be kept on foote, to loose the benefit of our travell all this Summer, and the charge her Majestie

*The brute
of the
preparations
in Spaine.*

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*Planting
Garrisons.*

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*The use of the
Scots.*

hath been at in planting Garrisons, which being kept, would so bridle all these Countries, as they should neither have any benefit of the Spaniards landing, nor the Spaniard any use of them, nor of their victuals, all their Countries being commanded by some of the Garrisons that would keepe them from stirring to joyne with others, for feare of loosing all their owne at home. It is true, that by the putting of new men hither when we shall have drawne out the old against the Spanish Army (which will be a worke of most necessitie), it cannot be expected, that the service of those new men will worke such effect, as the old Bands would; yet may it be hoped, the effect will bee sufficient to keepe the Irish from joyning with the Spaniard, seeing for the most part they shall live in Garrisons, and shall not neede to bee drawne into the field, unlesse onely for some short journey, which will not last above two or three daies at a time. And if her Majestie be not pleased to like of this motion, or seeme unwilling to disfurnish her selfe of so many men and Armes, we humbly leave it to your Lordships to consider, whether it would not bee fit for that purpose, to entertaine two or three thousand Scots, which we thinke might readily be sent over to Loughfoyle or Carickfergus, and being inland Scots, and not Irish Scots, and good securitie had to serve her Majestie faithfully, they would in all likelihood better endure the winters hardnesse, and happily be found fitter for any service, then such new men as come usually from England, which yet we move no further, then as a remembrance, because we perceived the last yeere such a matter was thought upon. If the Spaniards come not, we doubt not but to give your Lordships a very good account of all things here, to her Majesties liking, yet must we desire the speedie sending over of the victuals contracted for, that should have come in July and August last, but no part yet landed that we heare of; for without those victuals these Garrisons will be unfurnished, which depend wholly thereupon. And we are further to move your Lordships, to cause to be

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sent over a very great proportion of salt and bread ; for by prey-beeves gotten from the Rebels, and good numbers had of the protectees, whom we have caused to furnish us for our mony, we have used a great kind of sparing of the victuals in the store, excepting bread onely. And we doubt not but many of the Garrisons will be able to helpe themselves many times with beeves, so as they may have salt to powder them, while the season lasts, and will not neede to take from the victualers any thing but bread, which now they will not deliver them alone, unlesse they be so directed from your Lordships. [II. iii. 239.]

The same twelfth day of September, his Lordship wrote from the Newry this following letter to Master Secretary in England.

Sir, you will understand by our letters to my Lords, how hitherto wee have bestowed our time. Being returned backe to the Newry, I find all the world strangely possessed of the comming of the Spaniards, although I cannot learne of any assured ground they have therof. Upon the general concurrence from all parts of such brutes, I did imploy two as likely instruments as any are, to know the truth, and to learne what assurance Tyrone himselfe had from Spaine. They undertooke upon their lives, that all the intelligence he hath received of succours, is onely by letters out of the Pale. Tyrone hath many waies made importunate meanes to be received to mercy : but I did still reject him, and published it, that her Majesty had commanded me not to hearken unto him, yet still he continued to urge me to become a suter to the Queene for him. It is true, I have been ever loth to negotiate with him any otherwise then with my sword, because I find it dangerous for my selfe, considering the Queenes resolution : but upon the receipt of my Lord Presidents letter of a new Spanish invasion, I adventured thus farre to entertaine his motions, that if he would sweare to submit himselfe absolutely to her Majesties mercy (if it should please

*Tyrone
importunate
for mercy.*

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*Tyrone's
head
proclaimed.*

her to receive him), whatsoever succour he should receive in the meane time, I would onely undertake to become an humble sutor unto her Majestie for him, so that notwithstanding till I knew her pleasure, I would not desist in my prosecution. This day he sent one to me, agreeing to so much, but with all propounding certaine Articles that he desired should bee granted: whereupon misliking that he should in any wise capitulate, I commanded his messenger presently to depart and forbad him to send any more to me, and to cut off all hope to his party, I have directed all the Garrisons anew to proclame his head, and the like to be done in the Creaghtes of such as are become subjects. In the meane time N.N. out of his owne head, and by that general authoritie that is given to al Commanders to parley with Rebels, hath spoken with Tyrone, to the effect of his owne letter, which even now I received, and such as it is I send it you. I protest before the eternall God it was without my privitie: but I must beare with him for greater faults then this; for he and all the Irish are very irregular, though he be fit enough for the charge I have given him, which is onely of Irish Companies, in a Garrison which of all other I can worst victuall, and they will make best shift for themselves, and greatest spoile upon the enemy. I have commanded him to meddle no more with Tyrone; for if I should thinke it fit I would imploy one better instructed for that purpose. It is true Sir, that for many respects I have been fearefull to deliver freely my opinion, what course I thinke fit to be taken with Tyrone, and so am I now: but if it shall please her Majestie to trust me with the authoritie to hearken unto him, I would never use it, but when I should bee sure to give her a very good account of my proceedings therein; for the lower he is brought, the more it will be for the Queenes honour to shew him mercie, and it is thought he might bee made an excellent instrument, if Spaine continue their purposes for this Kingdome. If the Queene bee resolved never to receive him, it is most necessary that

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Ulster should presently be made a Provinciaall Governement; for this people seeme to thirst for justice, and by that meanes the dependancy upon the Oneales will be soone extinguished. If the Queene be loth to augment her charge. I thinke it were much better that the institution of Connaght, were discontinued, and the like Officers to be transferred hither. It is true, that in all Ireland, for the good of the generall service, there is no place so fit for the Deputy to be resident, as at Athlone, and if he were there, Connaght would little neede a Governour. I have here but little time, and much to doe, and therefore I cannot write to you of all things so largely as I would, the which I purpose to doe when I come to Dublyn, onely of this I pray you Sir resolve me by your next: We have here the worst intelligence, of any Instruments that any Prince in Christendome doth imploy in so waighty a businesse; I doe know some, that I doe thinke were fit to be imploied both in Spaine and about the Traitor here, yet though I know my selfe to be honest, they may prove knaves. If the Queene be so confident of my faith, that shee will be pleased to make the best interpretations of what I shall doe therein, I should be able to doe her perchance some good service, and give my selfe greater light of all things, then now I have, but if shee mislike it, I will onely lay about me with my Sword, though it be in the darke. It is not a Letter, nor a reasonable Booke, that can deliver all such conceipts of mine, as I thinke necessary to let you know of this Kingdome, wherefore I dispaire to doe it, till I may have the happinesse to see you. If I had any certainty that the feare of Spaine were past, I would make a great diminution of the Lyst, wherefore I pray you Sir, if you have in England any assurance thereof, let me know it as soone as you can, but here we looke for them every hower, and (they say) in the Pale it is held as sure, as if they were already come. If you shew the inclosed Letter, I pray you put your finger on the latter part, or blot it out; and yet if I thought the

*Athlone a fit
residence for
the Deputy.*

[II. iii. 24o.]

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Queene would not bee angry, I would give the Lady leave to come to her Brother, for I am loth to make warre with Weomen, especially since shee is now great with child.

The same twelfth day of September, his Lordship wrote from the Newry to Sir Oliver Lambert Governour of Connaght this following letter.

*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to
Sir Oliver
Lambert.*

Sir yesterday at my comming to this Towne, your messenger delivered mee your letters, containing a relation of your proceedings, since your going to the Abby of Boyle, where and in your returne thence, I perceive you have had some knocking on both sides, and the Rebels being so many as you note, I have good cause to bee glad you sped so wel, and parted with so good reputation to our side, and so little losse withall, which I doubt not proceeded chiefly from your good command and managing of that businesse, for which I may not omit to yeeld you many thankes, neither will I be sparing to testifie so much, where it may most redound to your due and well deserved commendation. Yet must I withall note, that it somewhat grieves me, to observe so great an alteration in those that of late seemed desirous (or at least not unwilling) to receive her Majesties mercy, for that I have some reason to bee doubtfull, that this sudden change proceedeth not altogether out of a certaine expectation of Spanish succours, but out of some opinion they have conceived, of a purpose you have to dispossesse the principall men of their lands and livings, and to get the same into her Majesties hands, by indictments and Offices to be found thereof; and if they once entertaine such a conceit, they will assuredly put up all to any hazard, and to their uttermost means shun to be reclaimed, which I must acknowledge to you, I do the rather doubt, in that Tybot ne long hath grievously complained to me, of the committall of his Cosen Davye Bourke, and some hard usage towards himselfe, for which he seemes fearefull to come to you, and therefore desires my license

*Tybot ne
long's
complaint.*

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to go for England, which I have now sent him, with this purpose, to give him contentment as much as may bee, and yet when he comes to mee, I meane to schoole him, and so I hope to hold him in good termes, for so at this time especially it doth behove us, to bring our great worke to the better conclusion. I make no question, but that both he, and O Connor Sligo, and the rest of them, doe all somewhat juggle and play on both hands, to serve their owne turnes, and therefore truly deserve the lesse favour, for they so doe here for the most part, and yet I winke at it.

But since it behoveth us so greatly to draw the warre to an end, to ease her Majestie of that exceeding charge and consumption of men and Armes, which her Majestie and the State of England are growne verie wearie of, and indeed unwilling to continue much longer. Wee that are here employed as chiefe instruments, to effect what so earnestly is desired, must beare more for our Countries good, then our owne natures can well endure, [II. iii. 241.] and therefore let mee advise you, with much earnestnesse to apply your selfe unto it, as the onely and sole meanes to make our doings acceptable in England, where we must be censured, and by your next let me know certainly I pray you, whether you have done any thing already for the intituling of her Majesty to any of their lands in that Province, or whether you have any way attempted it, or given them cause to suspect it. I shall be well satisfied with your answer, presuming that you will doe it sincerely, yet if any such thing be, I pray you proceed no further in it, but labour by all meanes to winne them, both because I know it to be her Majesties pleasure, and that the multitude of Subjects is the glory of a Prince, and so every way it is fittest to reclaime rather then destroy them, if by any good meanes it might be wrought. O Connor Sligo (as you know) was restrained of his liberty by the Rebels, and that (I thinke) upon a letter I sent unto him, so that hee hath a just pretence for his standing out so long, and for any action into which he

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Instructions
for the
Garrisons.*

shall enter, neither shall we be able to disprove his allegations, though perhaps himselfe be not innocent, neither at the beginning, nor now. You must therefore be content to thinke, that what he doth, is by compulsion, though indeed you doe not thinke so for some reasons apparant to your selfe: Your stone worke at Galloway about the Bulworkes will I feare prove chargeable, and very long; yet can I doe no more then recommend it to your good husbandry and discretion, who may best judge what is fittest. Tyrone is not yet gone over the Earne, but lies betweene that and Ruske, where I have planted a garrison, and another at the Agher, hard by the Clogher, which lie both very fitly to doe service upon him. To the former all the Garrisons neere the Blackewater, and that at Mountjoy and Monaghan may fitly draw upon all occasions, and so I have lefte order with Sir Arthur Chichester, who hath the chiefe care of all: And to the latter and to Omy, (which is but twelve miles from it) Sir Henry Dockwra hath promised me to put up most of the Forces of Loughfoyle, and to lie there about himselfe. To Eniskillin or there about, Sir Henry Follyot hath direction to draw his whole Force, leaving a Ward onely at Ballishannon and Beleeke, which is already done, but hee hath not his boates yet from you, which is a great hindrance unto him, and therefore I pray you send them with all speed possible, if they be not gone already. Touching your motion for Master Attorney, I now returne to Dublyn, where if he cause it to be moved at the Table, I will with the rest yeeld to any thing that is fit. In the meane time you may use the chiefe Justice in those businesses, who hath allowance for his diet, and is of great experience and continuance in that Province, so as thereby hee may best know every mans disposition. I pray you let me heare from you againe with as much speed as you can, touching the state of that Province under your government. And so hoping, for all these late bruites, that we shall not this yeere be troubled by the Spaniards, or if we be, that

*Use of the
chiefe Justice.*

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their number shall be small, (for so Master Secretary hath confidently written to me out of England), I commend me right heartily to you. From the Newry this twelfth of September 1602.

The Lord Deputy being arrived at Dublyn, and this Summers service ended, since the composing of the Irish troubles was henceforward to bee wrought by the garrisons planted in all parts upon the Rebels, and the setting of the State to be managed by Counsellors, Sir Henry Davers Serjeant Major of the Armie, was the rather induced by the necessity of his private affaires, to discontinue his service in Ireland. Whereupon his place of Serjeant Major being void, was conferred upon Sir Arthur Chichester. And because Sir Richard Moryson had a pretence to the place by former hopes given him from the Lord Deputy, his Lordship to give him contentment, raised his Company of foote, reduced lately in a generall cash to 150, to the former number of two hundred.

*Sir Arthur
Chichester
made Serjeant
Major.*

The seven and twenty of September the Lord Deputy at Dublyn received from the Lords in England this following letter, directed to his Lordship and the Counsell of Ireland.

AFter our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell there. Whereas your Lordship in your late letters of the twenty nine of the last July doth advertise us of a great abuse crept in amongst the Ministers of the victuals in that Realme, namely that you cannot know from any of them, when the victuals arrive in any Port, nor whether it be of an old contract or a new, nor whether it be for her Majesty or themselves, and by that meanes you can never find how you are provided for, nor what you may further expect, and (which is worse) that the Rebels doe get of the best victuals that are sent thither, and you cannot call the Victualer to account thereof, because he affirmes stiffly that he is warranted by us to sell it for his benefit, and so as he sell it to the subject (how ill soever affected)

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*The abuses
by the
Vittuallers.*

it is no fault of his, if the Rebels afterwards get it. Upon this information from your Lordship, we have not onely called all the Victualers to account how this great abuse is committed, but have perused our former order taken this time 2 yeers, when we contracted with them to appoint commissaries there, for the keeping & issuing of victuals, by whose default (being their Ministers) it should seeme these lewd parts are plaied. Therefore for your Lordships satisfaction in the first point, the answer of Jolles and Cockain will suffice, who doe absolutely affirme, that they sent no other victuals thither then such as by contract they were tied to send. And though they send often a greater proportion then will serve to furnish any contract, yet that doth alwaies appeare unto us upon the certificates of the Invoyes, and wee that undergoe the principall care of those matters here, have enjoined them to have alwaies a good proportion in store to serve uppon all occasions, whereof they send (as they find convenient shipping) often times a large quantity before hand, more then by contract they are bound unto. For if they should not make provision before wee contract with them, it would be hard for them to performe the same in so short a time, and by such daies as we must of necessity limit unto them, upon diversity of accidents and demands from you, and the overplus doth alwaies passe into the next contract: But in that your Lordship doth find fault, that you can never be informed upon what contract the victuals are provided, which doe arrive there, we must remember unto you the order we have alwaies observed here, which will easily reconcile the difficulties in this matter. First therefore your Lordship is to call to minde, that wee here for the most part, in the making of our contracts, both for the quantity of the victuals, the time to have it there, and the places of unlading the same, are directed by such letters as wee receive from your Lordship and you of the Counsell, and by such certificats as are sent us from the Surveyor of the victuals from thence, which Surveyor ordinarily hath certified unto

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us the quantities that arrive there. Then so soone as any contract is made with the undertakers, wee send an abstract thereof unto your Lordship, both of the severall kinds, and for how many men, and for what time the same is provided, and to what place the same is to bee transported. By which your Lordship may know what you are to expect, and for more assurance, wee have required of your Lordship by divers letters to appoint certaine discreet persons at the Ports, where the same is to bee landed and unladen, to see and visit those victuals, and to take knowledge both of the quantities, kinds, and goodnes, and that (with good usage) the same is likely to continue the space of five moneths from the landing thereof, which direction if it were duly observed and performed, your Lordship needed no other certificat to satisfie you in all respects. And wee have usually received from Master Newcomen the Surveyor of the victuals, very exact certificats of the quantities of victuals that arrive there, as also of the goodnesse, and upon what contract they were sent: For untill the contract be full, all the victuals sent thither are to satisfie the same, and if there be any overplus, it is reserved for the next contract. For the undertakers absolutely denie the sending of any victuals thither, but such as is to serve the Souldier, and to performe the Contracts, so as all the victuals are to be accompted for her Majesties provision. Therefore it were farre easier for your Lordship, to have the like certificat there. Thus as wee have remembred unto you the directions we have given unto your Lordship: So wee have thought good to acquaint you with the rest of the course we hold here, which you shal understand to be in this manner: Upon every Contract we make, we give the Victualers an imprest before hand, to provide those victuals they contract for: but the whole summe that they are to have by that agreement they never receive untill they doe produce true Certificates from the Officers of the Ports, that the full proportions which they are tied to contract and provide, is laden on ship-board,

*The quantities
and goodnes
of the
victuals.*

[II. iii. 243.]

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

and ready to be transported of good and wel conditioned victuals, according to the Contract. And therefore if your Lordship will bee as strict to call for the certificates of the unlading there, as we doe cause the Invoyn to be perused, there can be no abuse in that case, considering all the victuals sent thither commeth to the Magazines, and how much soever it is, all is for the use of the Souldier. For the other point your Lordship doth com-
plaine of, that the Ministers there doe sell the victuals, and their peremptory untrue and respectlesse answers unto you: It is the desire of the victualers (as this information is generall) that your Lordship will not onely be informed of the particular abuses committed by any Officer or Commissary there, but to take a severe course to see them exemplarily punished. For we have given no other licence for the selling of victuals, then your Lordship hath beene acquainted with all, in the contracts made with the Victualers in August was two yeeres, which was in these words: And because it is not possible in so great a masse of provisions, with all the care that may be used, by reason of transporting and tossing them to and fro, but some will perish, and decay. In this case their Lordships are pleased, that the foresaid Commissaries deputed now by the Merchants, shall be permitted to utter and sell to the poore in the market Townes where they reside, and neere unto them, such victuals as are decaiable, and unfit to be uttered to the souldier. And by the instructions given to the Commissaries, there is a clause, whereby they are restrained: That if there shall fall out any wast in the provisions, either by leake, moisture, or other casualty and accident, by transportation by land or by Sea, or by any unfit or inconvenient roomes to place or house the same victuals, then they are to acquaint the chiefe Commander, Colonell, or Counsell therewith, and procure some sufficient testimony for the manifesting of the truth, and of the quantity, that is decayed, surprized by any ambush of the Enemy, or by fier, or other inevitable danger become unfit to be used,

*Decaiable
victuals to be
sold to the
poore.*

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that it may appeare, that happened not by their negligence and default, the which being certified, her Majesty in that case to beare the losse and wast thereof. Therefore we marvell your Lordship would indure so insolent an answere to be made by inferiour Officers, knowing wee alwaies doe send your Lordship the Coppies of those agreements and Articles wee make with any victualer. And in this Article this consideration onely did leade us, that if by long keeping, often removing, or other casualty, the victuals shall not be fit for the Souldier, then your Lordship or the provinciall Governour, or such as you shall appoint, being acquainted therewithall, we thought it more fit, (and now doe so, and not otherwise) that the same may be sold to the poore in the next markets, then that the losse should light on her Majesty. Neverthelesse in those cases, wee referre it to your Lordships judgement and discretion, whom her Majesty doth trust with so great a government, to order them as you shall see cause. To conclude therefore, if that caution wee tooke for the good of the Souldier, (that no evill victuals should bee thrust upon him), shall be abused and perverted to supply the need of the Rebels, and the Souldier the worse served, we thinke this matter worthy of strict examination and as severe punishment, as may be inflicted upon offenders in so high a degree, which we earnestly require may be done, and that in all these and like cases, your Lordship will consider, that we of her Majesties Counsell here, that are absent from thence, doe proceed generally in these matters, as reason doth direct us, and as we receive light from you and the Counsell there: but your Lordship, that doth know the state of the Kingdome, and see the particular course and disposition of things there, and what is fit and not fit, may easily reforme those inconveniences and abuses that happen, and are committed, and informe us of those particulars that are not within our knowledge, that these matters may be carried with more perfect order and rule, for the good of the Souldier, whose wellfare is onely intended and sought

*The cases
referred to
the Lord
Deputy's
judgement.*

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

[II. iii. 244.]

*Abuse by
Serving-men.*

*The manner
of the reform.*

herein, to her Majesties excessive charge, and our great trouble. This is another great abuse, and though it be not pertaining to this matter, yet by reason of late we have discovered the same to be very common, we have thought good to informe your Lordship therof, and earnestly to pray you and the rest of the Counsell, to give strict order it may be avoided. The matter is this, wee find by divers examinations taken, that it is a common practice, that if any Serving-man, Countrey-fellow, or labouring-man, happen to be maimed or grievously hurt, by any mischance or disorder, if he be in any of the Countries neere to the Sea-side, or any Port where shipping doth goe for Ireland, hee will find passage there, and follow the Army in some Company or other, and doe such services as he is able, and when he hath gotten some knowledge of the Countrey, and of the Captaines and Chiefe Officers, then he procureth a pasport from some Captaine or other, or else he getteth his name to be inserted in some generall pasport, as a man (by reason of hurts received) unfit for service, and so upon his comming over hither againe, hee is recommended into the Countrey for a Pension, by which meanes the Countries are burthened with this kind of men, and the poore Souldier, that is indeed maimed in the warres, is disapointed and hindered of that pension he ought to have. This is to be reformed by two meanes: First that order be taken no maimed men, that have received their hurts in service, be sent away in a generall passe, because the Statute doth require a particular certificat from their Generall, certifying the hurts and maimes the Souldier hath received: Next the remedy is, that no such pasports be given but by subscription of your Lordship, the provinciall Governours, or chiefe Colonels, under whom he doth serve, expressing the hurts and maimes the Souldier hath received, and in what service, and under what Captaine, and the office and place he held in that Company. This by generall direction being observed, will avoid the number of counterfet Souldiers, and give

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due way to the reliefe of the maimed Souldier, who indeed without such particular certificat, ought not by the Statute to be releevd, and the want thereof hath beene great hinderance to many poore men. Therefore nothing doubting but your Lordship will take order herein accordingly, we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From the Court at Oatlands, the 29 of August 1602.

The eighth of October, the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lord President of Mounster, that howsoever by reason of Cormacks escape, he could not for the present spare the horse and the foote which were with him above the Mounster Lyst, under the command of Sir Samuel Bagnoll, yet hee would not faile to send fiftie horse presently into Connaght, whether hee purposed shortly to take his journey, being now busie about preparation for the same. And further his Lordship prayed him, to send a good proportion of victuals from the store in Limricke by water to Athlone, without which the Forces could not be kept together in that Province, and accordingly his Lordship gave order, that boats should be sent from Athlone to Limrick, to fetch the same. And wheras his Lordship had written to the Sheriffes in Mounster, to leavy certaine beeves for the Army, he prayed the Lord President to give them assistance, for taking them up, and sending them into Connaght with all convenient speede.

*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to the
Lord
President of
Mounster.*

The fifteenth of October, the Lord Deputy was advertised from the Lord President, that Cormock Mac Dermott lately escaped, had made sute to him to be reconciled to the State, and that upon his answer, that if he would justifie himselfe to be innocent, he should have a just triall, or if he would confesse his faults, then he would be a suter to the L. Deputie for his pardon, hee the said Cormock had made choice to sue for pardon, rather then to stand to his triall. And that in the meane time all the Castles in his Country were possessed for her Majesty, & his followers disposed under other Lords upon good assurance, beside the faction which was

*Cormock Mac
Dermott
makes sute to
the Lord
President.*

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nourished against him among his neerest Kinsmen, which things made him unable to doe any hurt, so as if his Lordship had any occasion to imploy in Connaght the forces which were in Mounster above the List of the Province, his Lordship might dispose of them at his pleasure. Further, the Lord President advertised, that he understood by one James Blacke, lately come out of Spaine, that O Donnell was dead there, and that this newes was most certaine.

[II. iii. 245.]

*Captaine
Blany's
Commission.*

The twentieth of October, the Lord Deputy dispatched Captaine Blany from Dublin, with Commission to governe the Garrisons of Ruske and Monaghan, (recalling Sir Christopher S. Laurence and Captaine Esmond, from that command, to repaire to Dublin, that his L^p might heare and compose the differences risen betweene them.) He had further order to leave Captaine Atherton, to governe the Fort of Mount Norreys, wherof he had formerly the command; likewise to put up good store of victuals from the Newry to those Garrisons, and to deliver letters to Sir Arthur Chichester, with whom he was to concur in the intended services for those parts. He was directed to know from Mac Mahown his resolute answere, whether he would submit himselfe upon the conditions sent unto him, and if he refused them, then to give him no further time of protection, but to prosecute him presently by all meanes. To give O Connor Roe Mac Guyre his best assistance, to establish him in his Countrie, and for the other Mac Guyre in rebellion, not to accept any submission from him, except he undertake some extraordinarie good service, because he had lately abused the favour, offered him by Sir Henrie Folliot, Governour of Ballishannon. Lastly, whereas some of Tyrones Capitaines offered to come from him, to serve the Queene, he was directed to entertaine those offers, and either to draw them from him, or to make any use of those offers, and treating with them, which he in his discretion should thinke fit.

The one and thirtieth of October, the Lord Deputy

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received from her Majesty this following letter directed to his Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell here.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right Trusty and Welbeloved, and Trustie and Welbeloved, Wee greet you well. We have been acquainted with your dispatches to our Counsel of the fourteenth, and to Our Secretary Cecyll of the thirteenth. In the first whereof We have perceived the successe of your last prosecution, wherein as We have cause, so We doe blesse God, that he hath so prospered you & our forces under your charge, as Our enemies are not so hasty to attempt Us anew, or Our rebels able to interrupt your proceedings; which letter being for the most part but a journall, requireth no other answere but this, That We doe yeeld unto your selfe, and to Our faithfull and loving subjects that have assisted you, both praise and thanks for your good service. And now because We know your affection is so well mixed with understanding of the state We stand in, both here and there, as you can well consider of what importance it is to Us to ease our Kingdom of those great or rather infinite charges, which We have thus long sustained, which stil continuing in that height, would take away the true feeling of our Victories, We have thought good to deliver you Our pleasure in that behalfe; for it were almost as good for Us to lacke a great part of their reduction, as to be driven to that charge in keeping them, which our Crowne of England cannot indure, without the extreme diminution of the greatnes and felicity therof, and alienation of Our peoples minds from Us, considering that for these only rebellions in Ireland, We have bin forced to part with many of Our ancient possessions, which are part of Our flowers of our Crowne, and to draw from our subjects (a thing contrary to Our nature) those great paiments, which (but for the hope they had, that the same should serve to work their future ease and respiration) they would not so willingly have borne, nor We so justly could have imposed upon them. In al

*A Letter
from
her Majesty.*

*The great
charges of the
warre.*

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[II. iii. 246.]

*Divers officers
and ministers
superfluous.*

which considerations, though it is true, that the authoritie & direction may be expected from Us, to whom almighty God hath only given the supreame power, to warrant your proceedings in matters of such importance, yet because in this one point of abating of Our forces now, from the proportion whereat they stand, you had alwaies in your owne judgement the certaine Idea thereof, as a thing that you resolved to doe, so soone as the expectation of the Spanish Army was passed over, Wee rather thinke (if you have observed the judgement which you have made by your last letter of the improbabilitie of their comming in those times with any power), that these Our letters shall serve more to approve your actions, or at the least your resolutions, to abridge all those charges, which were either meereley raised in that only expectation, or were onely necessary to bee tollerated, untill you had planted those Garrisons in this prosecution, then that you are now to begin it; which if it bee so, wee doe then command you to proceede with it with all possible speede, both because the preservation of our treasure, and the very true reasons of State doe require it, and for that there is neither appearance of any forraigne Army, neither are the Rebels (by your owne description) of any force to make any dangerous head against you. So as if now our charge should still continue, wee know not in what time it should be abated. To conclude therefore in that point, We do referre the numbers, the places, and persons, to be ordered by you wholly, and by the advice of Our Counsell there. And We will for the present onely lay before you in generall, some things out of square in that Kingdome, which would bee looked unto. First, Wee finde divers Officers and Ministers intertained, with many other charges, which are superfluous, whereof the error growes upon a conceit that our charges are easie, in respect of the mixed coine, whereof your owne judgement can best informe you, all circumstances considered. We doe also finde lacke in the managing of divers possessions, which are wonne unto us, aswell as in collecting and

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answering former duties, all which would both by your discretion and your authoritie be thought of, and distributed to persons, to order with time according to their severall offices, to the intent the World may see, the end of our prosecution is to reforme the Kingdome, to revive Justice and order, and not still to suffer these licentious expences, or loose costs, in many things, by many inferiour persons unremedied, although while the Kingdome was invaded by a powerfull enemy, and torne in pieces with a domesticall rebellion, wee know the time could not admit such reformatiōs, as may be used in greater calmes. And wee must say to you our Treasurer, that when we remember your owne words, concerning the point of the exchange in the first alteration of our coine, how you told us still, that in continuance of time every second issue would so recompence the first returne, as the exchange might wel enough be borne, We little thought we should have seene so many billes subscribed with your owne hand and your Ministers, to be paid here in sterling. For as it was not our meaning, nor ever shall be, whensoever in verbo Regio We publish any thing, to make it the instrument of deceit; so We ever reposed so much in your judgement, as when you should see an abuse, or a plaine corrupt traffick made of that liberty of exchange, which we onely vouchsafed to erect for the use of those, that should not make it a trade, then you would either have found the meanes to discover their fraude, and so wholly have rejected their billes, and punished the fault, or else (if you could not have hit the very bird of their deceit in the eye) you would (taking it pro concessio, that a fault there was) have taken some such exceptions against them, as might have served so to have suspended you allowance, as they should not have had from you so good warrant to demand that justly of us, which is so excessive a burthen unto us, the rather seeing Merchants should by all constitutions bestow the money they receive for wares uttered, in the naturall commodities of the Countrey, which imposition would have bridled

*Billes to be
paid in
sterling.*

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*Billes due to
the officers
and souldiers.*

[II. iii. 247.]

them very much, and is not unjust, seeing it cannot be denied, but that there are some commodities (as Hides, Tallow, Yarne, and many other things) whereon they might have bestowed some money, and not have made over such great summes. Where you may perceiue, that to all those which served the Armie, and for the billes due to the officers and souldiers, wee have made no difficultie, although we know (if it were examined) that in their exchanging over so much money as some doe, there is some indirect dealing: we would not have you thinke (whom we know to be honest diligent and a sufficient servant) that we doe touch you in the least degree with lacke of sinceritie, or desire to doe us service (for of both these Wee have great reason to take gracious recognition) but rather to let you to know how sensible We are of the clamour, how negligent your Deputies have been in many places to charge Us here: how great portion of treasures is due by your certificats, and how necessary it is (seeing but by this coyne those expences cannot be borne) that all superfluous charge be cut off, and this matter of the exchange corrected in some degree or other, before (like a Canker) it consumes Our treasure, which is the sinewes of our Crowne. We pray you therefore (as We doe meane here to doe with Our priue Counsell), call to you some three or foure of that Counsell, of the best understanding, and thinke among you of some better cautions for this matter of exchange; wherein, seeing We doe see the State of that Kingdome principally with your eyes, We shall be contented to incline most to those courses which you shall find convenient. And because no day goeth over our head wherein we are sure there is not some increase to that loade, Wee doe hereby give you Our Deputie authoritie, without tarrying to advertise Us of your opinion one way or other, to publish a Proclamation or order, either for tolleration or explanation of the forme of Our former institutions, which shall seeme best to you, with consideration of all due circumstances, not doubting but you

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shall finde many things which were fit for Us to suffer in the beginning, which by change of circumstances may now be altered. And because in these matters of paiments, which flow like bloud out of the vaines, time is pretious, if there be any thing which you and that Counsell shall find fit to be done for prevention of some part of this abundant consumption, growing by the freedome of all persons to have the exchange, seeing the distance of place to be passed by sea is subject to length and uncertaintie, We are content provisionally to warrant your proceedings in any thing you doe, or publish in Our name. It remaineth now that We doe satisfie you Our Deputie, of some other things contained in your private letters to the Secretary; First, for your doubt you may not use your best meanes to explore the practices of Spaine, and the inward treasons of the Rebell, because your Ministers may often proove dishonest, Wee have no more to say then this, That if you consider that We have trusted you as absolutely with that Kingdome, as ever We did Deputie, you neede make small doubt of any other interpretation of your actions in that point towards you; for whensoever the greatest curiositie shall censure our actions, it shall never appeare (where Wee see faith and dutie onely intentionall in origine), that Wee would be willing to censure the actions of Our Ministers according to the successe. And therefore as We doe leave liberty here in England to Our Secretary of State, to employ such persons as are likest to discover practises (though Wee allow not any immediate treaties or correspondencies with subjects of other Provinces, but where We are particularly acquainted with it), so doe We give you warrant by such ordinarie meanes, as may bee taken by opportunity of persons to passe to and fro, under colours of trade of traffick to forraigne parts, to informe your selfe of the enemies preparations in such things as belongs thereunto, that you may be able from time to time to fashion your owne present proceedings according to such advertisements as may be brought you, seeing

*Meanes to
explore the
practices of
Spaine.*

*Ordinarie
meanes to be
informed of the
enemies
preparations.*

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you may sometimes receive them with more expedition, and more freedome for things concerning that Realme, then they can bee usually convaied to our Ministers here, from those whom they imploy for our service, from whence you have seene what judgement We have made all this yeere of their distraction and weakenesse, though We stick not (in some measure) to provide for you, though farre short of that which Wee must have done, if Wee had credited those bruites which were brought into that Kingdome, by such as We are perswaded (if it were wel observed) came out of Spaine ful of device and practice to blow that abroad, which they beleeved not.

*The ordering
of the
provinciall
Governements.*

Next concerning your opinion for the ordering of some provinciall Governements, and making your residence at Athlone: for the place Wee know it is scituate very well, to answere all services, and (as things stand) Ulster hath neede of good distribution now, as much as Connaght, wherein as We can very well like that you doe prepare for residence in that place, whereby the limits of Our Pale may bee enlarged, so We wish you, that both in Ulster and in Connaght, you doe fashion the commandment in such sort, as one Governour have not too much Countrie to rule; for where men are more absolute then ordinary, they are commonly apt to use things with lesse care and moderation, so as in that matter Wee confesse to you, that Wee had rather have many good subjects imployed in many places, then any one to manage too much. For the matter of charge of your residence (because we know not what charge belongs unto it, to make the place capable, nor how it may stand with the State of the Towne of Dublyn, which is a Port, and not to be overthrowne, standing so commodiously for passage out of England), We would have all circumstances wel considered, and then you shall receive more of Our direction.

[II. iii. 248.]

Lastly for Tyrone, We doe so much mislike to give him any grace, that hath beene the onely author of so much effusion of bloud, and the most ungratefull Viper

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to Us that raised him, and one that hath so often deceived Us, both when hee hath craved his pardon, and when he hath received it of Us, as when Wee consider how much the World will impute to Us of weakenesse, to shew favour to him now, as if without that we could not give an ende to this Rebellion, Wee still remaine determined, not to give him grace in any kinde. And seeing it is unsafe for any Prince to make all faults appeare veniall, because every offender will thereby become insolent, and seeing in common reason the cutting off so many associates, must needs have left him a bodie without limmes, and so not worthy Our respecting, Wee doe very well allow of your late rejecting him. For when Wee looke on his manner of seeking mercy at all times, We doe still certainly conclude, that it is done upon some practise to serve some present turne, seeing one day hee onely desires simple mercy for his life, and another day falles to capitulate, neither can Wee see why so much depends upon his reduction, when, for aught We know, no man can advise us, if hee should come in, and bee at libertie hereafter, out of Our hands, how Wee could bee so assured of him, but that still Wee must bee in doubt of him, and at the same charges Wee are at, to containe him and his, notwithstanding their former reduction, which if Wee must account to bee at (whomsoever or whatsoever Wee recover), Wee shall take small contentment in that victory, wherof the ende would bee worse then the beginning. And therefore mistake not this Our earnestnesse in this point, as if it proceeded from any opinion, that you have demeaned your selfe otherwise, then became you in the charge committed to you: for We would have you know for your comfort, that We approve all the courses you have held, since you tooke the Sword in your whole Governement, to have been accompanied with diligence, wisdom, and good successes, and so We accept the same at your hands. For N. N. his proceedings with the Traitor, although Wee doe not allow of his boldnesse to doe such a thing without *N. N.'s proceedings.*

Tyrone.

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your direction, yet Wee have so little reason, by the course of his service, to doubt of his affection, as We do dispenche with that errour, in which We assure our selves hee meant no harme. Given under Our Signet, at Our Mannor of Richmond, the ninth day of October, 1602, in the foure and fortieth yeere of our Raigne.

*Rory
O Donnell
makes sute
for mercy.*

The first of November, Rory O Donnell (brother to O Donnell lately dead in Spaine, whom in the Summer following you shall see created Earle of Terconnell), having made humble sute to the Lord Deputy for her Majesties mercy, and finding that his Lordship made doubt of his true meaning, did by his letters dated the first of November earnestly protest, that hee did desire from his heart, and had long desired to become a subject, though for the present he had command of all his brothers forces, and had received promise of helpe to bee sent this next Summer from Spaine or Rome. And to obtaine this mercy he pleaded, that his brother went out upon his private discontent against the will of his father and himselfe, being enabled by strangers to force them. That his Grandfather by Henrie the eighth for his good service to the Crowne was Knighted, and had his Countrie given him and his heires by letters Pattents. That his predecessors had long served the Crowne against the Oneales. That himselfe had often sought to become a subject, and for the same had been imprisoned by his brother, with many dangers of his life. Lastly, that now, assoone as he had made himselfe master of his brothers forces, hee humbly offered to submit himselfe, and of late had suffered the Governour of Connaght to passe by him [II. iii. 249.] with the Queenes forces, lest by fighting with them, hee should incense the State against himselfe and his people. And touching Neale Garve, whereas he had a grant of part of his brothers lands, he offered to prove, that he had since that grant agreed with his brother, to joyne with him against the English forces, as soone as the Spaniards should arrive in Ireland, and be able to keepe

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the field. Hereupon the Lord Deputy sent him her Majesties protection by Captaine Gore, with direction to come unto his Lordship, so soone as hee should be in Connaght, whether hee intended shortly to take his journey.

About this time the Lord Deputy imployed Sir Garret Moore (of English race) into the Brenny, where all the Rebels submitted, and gladly received her Majesties protection: among them one of the O Relyes came with one hundred men, and Mac Gaurons sonnes with fiftie men, and some one thousand Cowes from Ororke, being the greatest strength hee had. And another of the O Relyes, being refused pardon, undertooke to bring in Mac Guyres head, so he might have her Majesties pardon, which Mac Guyre had abused her Majesties Protection, into which the Governour of Ballishannon had formerly received him.

*Sir Garret
Moore.*

At the same time Tyrone sent to the Lord Deputie by Sir Garret Moore, an absolute submission to the Queenes mercie, and wrote to the Lord Deputy, that howsoever the shewing of this submission might hinder him from receiving the aides hee expected out of Spaine, yet he had sent it, in confidence that his Lordship would deale honourably with him. This submission was in these words.

Right Honourable Lord, your worthy endeavours in her Majesties service, and processe of time, have sufficiently taught me, how improvidently I have persevered in action, wheras heretofore upon my submission I might have hoped, her Majesty would have received me to her mercy, unto which action I was enforced for safeguard of my life only, which was indirectly sought for by her Majesties officers, as is known to sundry persons of credit here, & her subjects; & that before I was proclaimed traitor, I never sent letters into Spaine, or received any from thence, though afterwards I was animated to continue in Action upon hope of Spanish

*Tyrone's
submission.*

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aide, and promise of many confederates, of both which being disappointed, my estate is greatly decreased, and though I might perhaps be able to hold out for a time, yet am I weary of the course I held, and do much repent me of the same, most humbly and with a penitent heart desiring and wishing to bee reconciled to my Prince, and to be received to her Majesties mercy, whom I am right sorry I have so much offended and provoked, and yet I know that her Majesties mercy is greater then mine offences, the rather that at the first I did not wilfully oppose my selfe against her Majesty, but for safety of my life was driven into action as aforesaid, and for my continuance therein I submit my selfe to her Majesties mercy and grace, acknowledging her Majesty alone to be my naturall Prince, and my selfe her unworthy subject: but if her Highnesse will vouchsafe, of her accustomed Grace, to grant not onely pardon to me, my kinsemen and followers, and unto mine adherents, in their owne names, and upon their severall submissions, but also to restore me and them to our pristinate blood and possessions, I will from henceforth both renounce all other Princes for her, and serve her Highnesse the residue of my life, humbly requesting, even of your Honour, now that you have brought mee so low, to remember I am a Noble-man, and to take compassion on me, that the overthrow of my house and posterity may bee prevented by your good meanes and honourable care towards her Majesty for mee, which with all humility I desire and will accept: And for the better doing hereof, if your Lordship doe mislike any of the Articles which I did send unto you, I pray your Lordship to appoint either some of the privy Counsell, or some Gentlemen of worth, to conferre with mee; and your Lordship shall find me conformable to reforme them. The twelfth of November 1602.

Subscribed Hugh Tyrone.

The thirteenth day the Lord Deputy was advertised that Captaine Tyrrell upon a mutiny betweene him and

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the Rebels of Kerry, had left Mounster, and, having some sixe hundred men with him, was comming back into Lemster, and it was thought that Tyrone would send him to Orowrke, to assist him in the defence of his Countrey. [II. iii. 250.]

About the eighteenth of November his Lordship began his intended journey into Connaght, and by the way this following letter from Tyrone, to Oconnor Sligo, being intercepted, was sent to his Lordship.

WE commend us unto you Oconnor Sligo, we have received your letter, and as formerly we have written unto you, wee have remained in Fermannagh wel-nigh this quarter of a yeere, and have often written unto you, and to Odonnels sonne, and requested you to come and see us neere Logh Earne, concerning our Counsels either for peace or warre, and neither of you came thither to meet us: We thought that you and O Donnels sonne, and Ororke, and O Connor Roe, and our selves, as many of us as are of our faction, would have maintained warre for a great time, and to that end, we came to these parts, and have forgone so many of our owne people, as have not risen with us: But seeing that O Rorke (if it be true) and O Connor have received protection, and that every one doth make peace for himselfe, wee may all easily be deemed men broken, and not substantiall in warre: but concerning our counsell and advice which you write for, our advice unto you is neither to make peace nor cessation, but that peace or cessation which shall be made by all our consents and agreements; and if you doe otherwise, stand to the hazard your selves, for you shall not have my consent thereunto.

*A Letter
from Tyrone
to Oconnor
Sligo.*

Subscribed, Oneale.

The Lord Deputy tooke the foresaid journey into Connaght, as well to take order with the Rebels in action, which had sent messengers to Dublyn in their names to crave the Queenes mercy, as also to view the Towne of Galloway, and to consider how the discent of forraigne

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enemies might best be prevented, by building a Fort upon the Haven. Before his Lordships comming, Sir Oliver Lambert the Governour, with the Forces under him, had made a journey, wherein he quite banished Mac William out of the County Maio. His Lordship having made some stay in the Pale, came to Athlone the second of December, and lay in the Castle, being very strong, and divided from the Towne by a bridge over the River Shannon, where the Governour and the Counsell for that Province made their residence.

*O Connor
Sligo's
submission.*

Here the foureteenth of December, O Connor Sligo, and Rowry Odonnell, (brother to the Traitor O Donnell lately dead in Spaine) two Rebels of greatest power in those parts, came to his Lordship, and made their humble submission to her Majesty. O Connor Sligo alleaged many things in his owne excuse, as the manner of O Donnells taking him and keeping him in prison, and submitted himselfe to her Majesties mercy. Rowry O Donnell, albeit he had under him all his brothers followers and creaghts, yet did hee both simply and absolutely submit himselfe to her Majesties Grace, without standing upon any conditions, but signifying his readines to deliver such pledges as should be demanded of him, all such Castles (as Ballymote, and others in the County of Sligo) which hee had gotten into his possession, and to doe any thing that hee might receive her Majesties favour, alleading further that his Father and Grand-father had beene true serviters, that he himselfe, with the privy of Sir Coniers Clifford, then Governour, had resolved to have served her Majesty against his brother, but upon the discovery of his purpose, he was kept in irons, (a matter well knowne to be true), and now most franckly offering his service, (if he might be received), either here or beyond the Seas, wheresoever her Majesty would be pleased to employ him, which manner of carriage, proceeding from a man of good spirit, active & wise, induced the L. Deputy to receive him, and did in some sort move all the Counsell to pittie his case, that he did no sooner

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submit himselfe, and the rather because they did foresee how noteable an instrument he might be made, to bridle the insolency of Sir Neale Garve, (which was growne intollerable), of whom they thought he might be the best curbe that could be devised. And therefore they resolved at their comming to Dublin, to send for the said Sir Neale and this Competitor, and with the advice of the rest of the Counsell, seriously to consider how to provide for, and to dispose of them both, wherein albeit they purposed to give unto Sir Neale the benefit of her Majesties gracious promise, yet did they think it a thing very expedient for her service and the settling of Tirconnell, that some competent portions in Tirconnell should be allotted to this Gentleman, in which point they by letters humbly prayed the Lords in England to move her sacred Majesty to send unto them her Highnes warrant for taking such a finall order between them, as by the general advise and consent of this Counsell should be thought fittest for her Majesties service. [II. iii. 251.]

The Lord Deputie proceeding on his journey to Galloway, kept his Christmas there, and in that Towne, all the Rebels of that Province (the Flahertyes, the Mac Dermotts of the Courlewes, Connor Roe, and divers others) submitted themselves, and were received, and so for the present this Province was brought to quietnesse. *Submitties at Galloway.*

Onely the proud, insolent, faithlesse Bryan Ororke, notwithstanding his former humble message sent to the L. Deputy touching his desire to be received to mercie, absented himselfe, and having drawne unto him Tyrones Mac Guyre (whom for his deceitfull and treacherous dealing, the Lord Deputie had banished out of Fermanagh, and exposed to prosecution), and the Traytor Tyrell (lately come out of Mounster) and trusting to the Fastnesse of his Country, persisted in his Rebellion. And therefore, albeit his Lordship did foresee the manifold difficulties which must grow in his prosecution, yet did hee hold it very necessary to take the present opportunity to scourge him severall waies, before the Spring, and *Bryan Ororke.*

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*Armies to be
sent against
Ororke.*

before his forraigne hopes might give him any further encouragement. And for this ende, as hee had appointed a proportion of victuals and other necessities, to bee presently brought from Lymrick to Athlone, so now he resolved to furnish Sir Oliver Lambert with an Army to surprise his Countrie Leytrim, and to take it into her Majesties hands. Sir Henrie Follyot also, with the assistance of Rowrie O Donnell, (who already had done some service against O Rorke) was appointed from Sligo, and those parts, to enter into his Country, and his Lordship intended presently to raise a third Army, to bee sent from the Pale to annoy him, by which course his Lordship hoped, this Rebell should not be able long to subsist in his pride and contempt.

*Form of
submission by
the Rebels.*

The submission of the foresaid Rebels was made by each of them in writing, and in these words following :

First, I doe acknowledge Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland to be the only true, absolute and Sovereigne Lady of this Realme of Ireland, and of every part, and of all the people thereof, unto whose gracious mercy I doe humbly submit my selfe, my lands and goods, and withall faithfull repentance for my unnaturall disobedience unto her Roiall Majesty, doe most earnestly implore her mercy and pardon, for my selfe, and such of my followers as with me have been seduced to this wicked Rebellion.

Further, I doe renounce all and any manner of obedience unto any other Power or Potentate, which I ow only to my said dread Sovereigne Elizabeth, and utterly abjure any dependancy and adherence to any of her enemies whatsoever, or disloyall subjects, and doe promise, swear and vow, from henceforth to live in her subjection in al dutie and obedience, and to use my best endeavours, to the uttermost of my power, to withstand and confound any enemy either forraigne or domesticall, that shall attempt any thing against the sacred person or estate of her Majestie, or to the hurt of her faithfull and obedient subjects, and especially, and namely, I doe renounce (as

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before) and promise my endeavours (as aforesaid) against the King of Spaine, and the Arch-Traytor the earle of Tyrone.

All this as I do upon my salvation sweare to performe sincerely, so if I doe herein breake my oth, I doe acknowledge my selfe not onely to be worthy of all infamy and extreme punishment, but to be ever after accounted unworthy of the name of a Christian, or the society of men, to the which as I have unfaindly sworne, so I do now in witnesse hereof set to my hand.

In Christmas holidayes his Lordship viewed the Towne of Galloway, and judging it a place of great importance to be preserved from being possessed by any forraigne enemye, he gave present direction to finish that Fort, the building whereof was alreadie begun, in a place well chosen, both to command the Haven, and to defend the Towne from forraigne invasion. During his Lordships abode in Galloway, he received this following letter from the Lords in England.

*Directions for
a Fort in
Galloway.*

[II. iii. 252.]

AFter our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, her Majestie hath heard of your whole letter, brought by Sir Henrie Davers, bearing date the tenth of November, in answere to one of her Majesties of the ninth of October, wherein you doe prevent (in some things) such directions as were digested into a dispatch ready to be signed and sent you, as namely, in the matter of exchange for one point (and so of some others) wherein her Majestie having heard the Apologie of you the Treasurer being (as she is, ever) readie to interpret graciously, those actions which are well meant, though they succeed not alwaies as is wished, though she had given us charge to write much more particularly in that matter, yet now hath been pleased to command us only to let you know Master Treasurer, that (although you shal never need to excuse your integrity, because she never doubted it) yet she can not free you and your Ministers from such oversights, as have encreased the

*Letter from
the Lords in
England.*

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*Abuses of the
Billes.*

burthen of this Exchange. For though one part of your answer is, that new things must be settled with plausible circumstances at the entrie, yet these are her own words, that you should not have thought it new (long agoe) to have stopped that current, when you saw it carried so much contrarie to the true meaning of the Proclamation, even now that the institution hath been on foot almost two yeeres, and that such a summe of money is returned backe againe by you, when the issue of the new coyne hath bin no greater, seeing (that excepted which spends in the lendings of the Army) a small quantitie hath been otherwise dispersed in the Kingdome, so as surely it may not be denied, but many of these Billes might have been kept from the Banke, if your deputies had been as carefull as they ought. For although Captaines and Souldiers, and Merchants (carrying and delivering necessaries for the Army) were by her Majesties institution intended to be relieved in their reasonable and just demands, yet who could ever thinke, that her Majesty ever intended, that Merchants should have been suffered to sell those Merchandize for 300l. there, which cost them but one 100l. here, and then turne that 300 li. upon the Exchange, or that Captaines & officers would make over foure times more money by one bill, then their whole entertainment comes to in a yeere. And therefore foresight hereof (by the experience dearely bought) makes her Majestie now resolve in her last order, that she wil not allow any exchange, but onely to the Army, and such as doe relieve the same, and that she meanes from henceforth shall bee justly answered, howsoever it may bee, that some seditious persons, misliking that these unreasonable Billes have been looked into (and so some suspence of payment made) may speak scandalously, either of the past or future, when already there is delivered to your Deputie Master Treasurer, ten or twelve thousand pounds, and more shall follow after, towards the discharge. And now to come to that which followes, and doth require expedition, your L^p shall understand, that the greatnes

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of her Majesties Army being such, as she cannot beare it up, without extreme prejudice to her state and Kingdome, she hath commanded us hereby to let you know, that shee is not satisfied with this abatement of 1000, but doth command you with all possible expedition, to reduce the Army to 12000 foot and 1000 horse, a matter which she findeth good to do in her wisdome, not onely for the necessitie of the expence, but out of this judgement, that she shall be sufficiently able to provide for the defence against forraigne power, before the storme shall fall, without which occasion, considering your owne relation of the weakenesse and desperate estate of the rebell, with the desire of the rest to come from him, she perswadeth her selfe that this List (well compounded out of the Bands that are cashered) will be strong enough against any home rebellion, and so much the rather, if you make it as much English as you can, by ridding as many of the Irish as you thinke meete, in all which, for the persons and places, she referres it wholly to your owne best judgement. And now that wee are speaking of the Army, wee thinke it fit to remember unto you, that it is a great errour in the Officers of the Ministers of that Kingdome, that the Musters (which is one of the principall keyes of her Majesties charge) is no better ordered. The fraude whereof doth evidently appeare, seeing that Army which is kept upon such a height in List and payment, is knowne and confessed (even by the Captaines themselves) to be so extreame defective in their numbers; for although we are not ignorant, that multiplicitie of Garrisons hinder the possibilitie of exact Musters, yet there is difference betweene tollerable imperfections, and those grosse negligences which are used by the Ministers of that service, whereof the World is apt sometimes to accuse those, that should (both here and there) censure the offenders, as those that doe commit the faults unpunished; Herein wee intreat your L^p and that Counsell to make our case your owne, and then to consider, whether we can

*Abatement of
the Armie.*

[II. iii. 253.]

*Fraude of the
Musters.*

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*The Checque
upon
apparrell.*

*No souldier
to be
discharged
but by Passe.*

well discharge our duties to her Majestie, when (in time of so great an expence) we are not able to shew her any manner of account of her Army by any authentically certificate, more then every Captaine or passenger can relate unto us, no not for the expence of eight or ten moneths time. In which point of the Musters we thinke it not amisse to say something to you, what wee conceive concerning the Checque upon apparrell. First, the order set downe very carefully and at large for the manner of the deliverie and the Checque to be raised upon the apparrell, is not observed, the due observation whereof would advantage the checque of the apparrell very much. For such souldiers as are sent from us thorowly apparrelled oftentimes have apparrell there againe (at the time of their delivery) given them, especially those that are dispersed into Bands, to fill them up, whereby we see her Majesties double charge, though speciall warning hath been given thereof from hence. And daily able men are suffered to come over hither (as of late tenne of those that were set out of the County of Lincolne in the late leavy), and by the examination taken here lately, it is proved, that money is given to procure them pasports, and none of those souldiers of the late leavies doe stand her Majestie and the Countrie (before they arrive there) in lesse then sixe pound a man. The order is not observed that hath been prescribed, that no souldier should bee discharged but by Passe from the Lord Deputie, Principall Governour, or chiefe Commanders; for daily divers come over with Passes of their Captaines, and divers are sent away together in one passe (sometimes to the number of thirtie) and few of them maimed, and those bring no other passes then from the Major where they are set on land here. In all which, and other particular duties though the Muster Master, Comptroller, and such other officers may be thought to be onely responsable in such cases, where-with they are trusted), yet the authority which your Lordship hath, and the meanes you have to distinguish how and when things of that nature may be in some

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good sort reformed, and the persons offending therein being in your eie to behold both them and their doing, and in your power to rule and punish them, as you finde cause, doth impose upon you thus much either to call upon them, and to chastise them, or else to deliver your owne judgement, which when we shall receive from you, and thereof informe her Majestie, it would include your care and ours to have it otherwise, and would satisfie the expectation and discourse of this time, when her Majesties subjects (being bitten with accidentall charges of the warres) begin now to thinke, that much of that which her Majestie imposeth here at home, is not necessarie, but rather voluntarie, or for lacke of care and providence in the expence, unprofitably wasted, especially now they heare of nothing but victories and improbability of forraigne power, and yet finde no difference betweene the present state of her Majesties charge, and that which shee was at when there was a Spanish Army in that Kingdom. We have also thought good to let your Lordship know, how great confusion it breedes in her Majesties expence, that those of her Counsell there (while your Lordship hath beene wholly conversant in millitarie causes) have not called to their answer, nor (according to their desert) have punished such Commissaries of victuals there, as have made private gaine to them selves, by sale of the victual committed to their charge, without warrant from us, or direction from the Purveors here (their superiours), whereof from you we have received both advertisement and mislike. But especially for that you of the Counsell there have never called upon nor strictly charged the Commissaries to bring in their accounts, in so much as there remaineth yet unaccounted for (for any thing wee know) the whole charge of those victuals, which wee have carefully sent over, and whereof wee have received certificate of the safe arrivall, for the space of almost two yeeres, of which Masse (if the same be reckoned) your Lordship shall find it little lesse then the value of one hundred threescore thousand pound, whereof

*Commissaries
of victuals not
punished.*

[II. iii. 254.]

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*Great
summes
defalked.*

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your Lordship may thus conclude, that either the summes defalked are great (which remaine in the Treasurers hands) or else the remaine in specie is so great with the Commissaries, as her Majestie might have spared the provisions lately sent over, by which the Treasure hath been so mightily exhausted; or else the wasts must bee such, as are not onely to bee rejected in the accounts, but the Authors thereof severely to bee punished. A matter wherein wee write the more earnestly to your Lordship, (from whom wee would have all exception taken, that wee assure our selves, you deserve not,) because we heare that a great part of the waste shall bee excused, sometimes by the avowing that it hath been cast on their hands, because the souldier hath not been injoynd to take it, and that some other time they have been commanded to remove it, and carrie it from place to place, by which they pretend great losse; and (which of all things is most subject to suspition in them), that it is taken for a good warrant in Ireland, to allow of any wastes, for which a Commissarie can produce a certificate from a poore Major, Sovereigne or Bailiffe of a Towne or Port, which how easily it is obtained, your Lordships owne wisdom can best judge, who are so well acquainted with the povertie and condition of that place. Further, because no one thing is more heavy to the Queene and the Realme, then the matter of victualling (wherein it is no way possible for us to doe more here), and that wee perceive by your letter of the two and twentieth of September, amongst other things, that your Lordship is not well satisfied in divers things concerning the victuals, wee thinke it not amisse to handle some particular points of that matter, which wee wish all those of the Counsell (and all other interested in the care of those things) may well understand, because you may the better (another time) answere those arguments, with which they seeke to satisfie you, when in truth (if they examine themselves), whatsoever they lacke, it proceedeth most from their owne default. First,

Victualling.

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whereas in the letter aforesaid you note, how slowly such victuals doe arrive there, as have been provided here upon request made by your Lordship, we answere, that Newcomen (whom you sent over) is able to give you satisfaction, that presently upon his comming over hither, and perusall of your Lordships demaunds, there was no delay used by us, to satisfie you in such sort as might be to your Lordships contentment, and to serve the Army and Garrisons, and (because Newcomen was not only made privie, but did both thinke the provision appointed to be sufficient to answere your Lordships desire, and the use of the Armie and Garisons, & is one of the undertakers for those provisions of victuals) he is much to blame if he have not particularly discharged that trust. True it is, that we conceive you have cause to marvell, that in so great distance of time, so smal quantitie of so great a masse as was provided, hath arrived there, which if it hath happened by contrariety of winds onely, then must your Lordship be satisfied, and wee excused. But howsoever it be, by the coppie of the Contracts sent unto your Lordship by us, with the charge the victuals did amount unto, we doubt not but you rest thorowly satisfied of our care, and leave us rather cause to suspect, that our former letters written to your Lordship concerning the victualing causes, have not come to your hands, or that the contents of them are out of your remembrance. For in them, namely, that of the fourth of August last, wee did not onely send your Lordship (as formerly wee did of all the rest) a coppie of the contract made by the victualers, but did satisfie you in divers things whereof we doe find you do complaine, which by our former letters we delivered and signified at large, and we both remember well the things you noted, & the course we held for your satisfaction. To which we ad nothing more, but doe repeate unto you, that we then did say in that point, that wee finde it a great fault in the Commissaries of the victuals there, that they do never informe you of the arrivall of victuals in those

Newcomen.

The victualers contract.

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parts, nor upon what contract they are provided, which would well become both the Commissarie and Surveior of the victuals; for by many letters sent from him to us, we are particularly certified both of the victuals that arrive there, and upon what contract they are furnished. Besides, the victualers here doe protest, that they doe provide no victuals at all, but for the use of the Armie, and to furnish the contracts, so as what quantities soever are sent thither, the same are to be taken for her Majesties use, and to bee accounted to furnish the contracts, untill they bee compleate, and then the overplus is to passe to serve the next contract. For it may fall out, that such victuals as are sent to one place, may by contrarietie of winds arrive in another Province or Port, which now (as the Purveieurs doe informe us) hath of late happened to one of their Barkes driven into Corke, and there staid by the Governour, which should have come to Galloway, and so that Towne thereby disfurnished, and those that are sent sooner from hence may arrive later, and sometimes miscarry. But the chieftest matter that doth breede scruple, doubt, and matter of abuse, is that there are not appointed there in the usuall Ports, where there are Magazines (as in Dublin, Carlingford, Corke, Lymricke, Carickfergus, Loughfoyle, and Galloway) some sufficient persons, who with the Major and Officers of the Ports, may over-see the unlading of the victuals from time to time, and take knowledge of the goodnesse of the victuals, and the quantities of the same, and to charge the Surveyors of the victuals to performe their duties likewise, and to be enformed of the same, and certifie you thereof, wherein, or in any other sort, if any abuse be committed by the Commissaries, it is both the earnest request of the Undertakers, and our absolute desire, and that which your Lordships place doth require, to see some exemplary punishment inflicted upon them for their evill carriage, which may and ought to be reformed. So as for an answer to that letter, we must still referre you to our former letters, namely, those of the fourth of

*Overseers of
victuals not
appointed in
the usuall
Ports.*

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August last, forasmuch as is to bee performed by us here, who see and heare with others eyes and eares in that place, and not our owne.

And where wee doe understand by your late letters also, that the Commissaries and Agents for the Undertakers, doe refuse to take beeves at twentie shillings a piece, the victualers here doe not onely deny the same to be done by their privitie, but earnestly beseech us (as often they have done) that they may have them at that price, and in our letters sent by Newcomen, at their entreatie we did require, that your Lordship would bee pleased to take order, they might have at reasonable rates such beeves as were taken from the enemy, which sute they doe renew, and doe assure us, they will bee glad to receive them at that rate. And forasmuch as many great and heaveie accounts are to bee taken, before either reckonings can bee cleared, or faults clearly distinguished, her Majestie hath resolved immediatly after Christmas, to send over some well chosen Commissioners, both for integritie and experience in all things in this nature, to examine and survey the state of her Majesties receipts and issues. To whom, as shee nothing doubteth, but your Lordship (whose zeale and care appears so greatly in her Majesties service) will give the best support which you can possibly afford them, so her Majestie requireth your Lordship now upon conference with the Counsell there, to appoint a day for all those inferiour persons, who have any thing to doe with the matters of accounts receipts, and expence, to come to Dublin, to the intent that those which shall be sent over, may not loose their time, by attending their repaire from remote places, nor your Lordship (whose eyes and judgement will give great light to that Commission) may bee otherwise distracted by any new journies, or prosecutions, to which the growing on of the yeere may invite you. For the present desire you have that some Commissioners should be sent over for the passing of some lands to the Submitties, with such reservations as are fittest for her Majestie, shee

*Beeves
refused.*

*Commissioners
to be sent
over.*

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[II. iii. 256.]

*Reformation
expected.*

meaneth presently to send over authoritie accordingly, liking very well (amongst other things) that you intend to cut off all dependancy upon the Irish Lords, which is one very necessarie consideration. Lastly, because your L^p and the Counsell may know, that although it is not to be looked for at the hands of any Prince, that they should unnecessarily keepe Companies in pay for the reliefe of any Captaine, yet because her Majesty in her owne disposition intendeth nothing lesse, then to neglect those servitors of hers, whom you shall testifie to have deserved extraordinarily, being like to suffer penury by this cashering, shee hath willed us to let you know, that shee is pleased to continue to every such Captaine, and so many other Officers as you thinke necessary, their ordinary pay; whereby they may bee enabled to maintaine themselves there about you, for many good purposes, untill some other occasion offer it selfe to imploy them elsewhere, or some Company there fall within your gift, to conferre it upon them, which being done, that entertainment may cease. And now that you perceive her Majesties resolution, whereof shee hath much hastened the sending away unto you, (in which respect wee cannot so particularly touch all things as we would); wee must now conclude, that howsoever her Majesties pleasure is, that those errours of subordinate Ministers in these matters of accompts and reckonings, should be thus mentioned to your Lordship and that Counsell, that is onely to make it appeare, how serious a reformation is expected from you: And though shee seeth how fearefull your Lordship is, without a more particular commandement (what numbers to diminish) to have made so large an abatement as shee commandeth you, not knowing how soone you might have cause to use them for her service, yet her Majesty is so farre from imputing it to any error in judgement, or lacke of zeale in you to her service, as shee confesseth shee hath beene to blame for not commanding it, and not you for not doing it, whose care, toile, and perill, as

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they have beene more then any Governour hath undergone before you, so may your Lordship take this comfort also, that the successe which it hath pleased God to give you, doth make your selfe an acceptable Minister to your Prince and Countrey, and maketh all us very glad (both for the publike, to which wee owe our first duties, and for your owne private, who shall ever find it in all things fit for us to performe towards you). From the Court at Whitehall the 22 of November 1602.

A Lyst of the Army as it stood the first of
Januarie, 1602.

*Lyst of the
Armie at
1. January
1602.*

Horse.

The Lord Deputie, 100. The Lord President, 100.
The Earle of Thomond, 50. The Earle of Clanrickard,
50. Sir Henrie Dockwra, 100. Sir Arthur Chichester,
25. Master Marshall, 50. Sir William Godolphin, 50.
Sir Francis Stafford, 50. Sir Garret Moore, 25. Sir
Henry Harrington, 25. Sir Oliver Lambert, 25. Sir
Oliver S. Johns, 25. Sir Richard Greame, 50. Sir
Edward Harbert, 12. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine
John Jephson, 100. Sir Henrie Folliot, 50. Captaine
William Taffe, 50. Captaine Flemming, 25. Captaine
Geo. Greame, 14. Horse 1000.

Foote.

The Lord Deputy, 200. The Lord President, 200.
The Earle of Kildare, 150. The Earle of Thomond, 200.
The Earle of Clanrickard, 150. The Earle of Ormond,
150. The Lord Audley, 150. Sir George Cary,
Treasurer, 100. Sir Henrie Dockwra, 150. Sir Oliver
Lambert, 150. Sir Arthur Chichester, 200. Sir Richard
Wingfeild, 150. Sir Francis Stafford, 200. Sir Oliver
S. Johns, 200. Sir Foulke Conway, 150. Sir Samuel
Bagnol, 150. Sir Richard Moryson, 200. Sir Garret
Moore, 100. Sir Francis Shane, 100. Sir Christopher S.

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Laurence, 150. Sir Henrie Follyot, 150. Sir George Bourcher, 100. Sir Francis Rush, 150. Sir James Fitz Peirce, 100. Sir Tho. Lofties, 100. Sir Henry Power, 150. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir William Fortescue, 150. Sir Charles Willmott, 150. Sir Richard Peircy, 150. Sir Edward Fitz Gerald, 100. Sir Francis Barkely, 150. Sir Ben. Berry, 150. Sir Mat. Morgan, 150. Sir Tib. Dillon, 100. Sir Tho. Bourke, 150. Sir Geo. Thornton, 100. Sir Garret Harvey, 150. Sir Ed. Wingfeild, 200. Captaine Edw. Blaney, 150. Capt. Tobey Cawfeild, 150. Capt. Josias Bodley, 150. Capt. Hen. Atherton, 150. Capt. Edward Trever, 100. Capt. Ric. Hansard, 200. Capt. Ferdinand Freckleton, 100. Capt. Francis Roe, 150. Capt. Lau. Esmond, 150. Capt. Tho. Williams, 150. Capt. Lyonell Ghest, 150. Capt. Tho. Roper, 150. Capt. Tho. Rotheram, 150. Capt. Ralph Constable, 100. Capt. Ralph Bingley, 100. Capt. Tho. Badbey, 100. Capt. Ellis Floyd, 100. Capt. Lewis Orrell, 100. Capt. Ellis Jones, 150. Capt. Edw. Leigh, 100. Capt. Edw. Basset, 100. Capt. Tho. Coach, 150. Capt. W. Winsor, 150. Capt. Roger Orme, 100. Capt. Nich. Pinner, 100. Capt. Joh. Sidney, 100. Cap. W. Stafford, 100. Cap. Ralph Sidley, 100. Capt. Bassel Brooke, 100. Capt. Jo. Vaughan, 100. Capt. H. Sackford, 100. Capt. Tho. Phillips, 100. Capt. Roger Langford, 100. Capt. J. Phillips, 100. Capt. H. Malby, 100. Capt. Tho. Bourke, 100. Capt. Tibott Bourke, 100. Cap. Rich. Henslo for Pioners, 100. Sir Francis Kinsmill, 150. Capt. Geo. Kinsmill, 100. Capt. Bostock, 100. Capt. Sam. Harrison, 100. Capt. James Blount, 100. Capt. H. Skipwith, 100. Capt. Edw. Morryes, 100. Capt. Edw. Fisher, 100. Capt. H. Hart, 100. Cap. Abrey Yorke, 100. Cap. Char. Coote, 100. Capt. Gawen Harvey, 100. Capt. Dorington, 100. Capt. Holcroft, 100. Capt. H. Bakley, 150. Capt. Tho. Boys, 100. Capt. Edw. Legg, 100. Capt. Dennis Dale, 50. Left in Ward at Enishcorthy, 20. Foote 12370.

The fourth of January, Sir Henry Dockwra Governor

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of Loughfoyle forces, wrote to the Lord Deputie this following letter.

Right Hon. and my very good Lord; the argument of this my letter shall be onely the testification of my privat duty, and a little discourse touching Neale Garve, and those Irish, whom I must freely confesse I am more to seeke in what sort to governe and use, to the benefit of her Majesties service, and discharge of my owne duty, then in any other point of the whole businesse. Neales first comming without compulsion, his bringing us to Liffer, his services many times commendably performed in his owne person, the furtherance he gave us for planting at Dunagall, the helpe he gave our men in their greatest wants, when O Donnell besieged them, the losse of his brother in that service, the trial of his fidelity, by standing firme in so dangerous a time, and lastly the goods he forsook of his owne, to serve the Queene for half pay, are arguments neither untruly gathered, nor unjustly alleaged to make much in his favour. On the other side, his extreme pride, ambition, and insatiable covetousnesse, his want of any knowledge when he is well delt with all, his importunitie in all things, right or wrong, his continuall begging, and unprofitable wasting of whatsoever hee gets, his aptnesse to desperate and unspeakeable discontent for trifles of no worth, his facilitie to bee misliked by men of best qualitie, and his underhand jugling (which is too apparant by many Indices) with the Rebels, hee is truly to bee charged with all, as the other good services are to be acknowledged. And yet to discountenance him, and challenge him of those faults, were to raise a new warre, and to drive the whole Country (in an unseasonable time) to an obdurate alienation of mind from all English Governement. To discharge his people, we shall finde a singular want, for spiall of many things which they give us light of, so should wee likewise for gathering of preys, whensoever wee goe a journey, and besides the Armes they have

*Sir Henry
Dockwra's
letter to the
Lord Deputie.*

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got amongst us, and the charge they have put her Majestie unto, the one would hardly be recovered out of their hands, and the other not unworthily thought to bee an ill peece of service to make utterly lost. Againe, on the other side they give continuall advertisements, aswell from us to the Rebels, as from them to us. Forts or places of strength alone by themselves, they neither will nor dare abide in, without helpe. To make their peace with O Donnel, they shal ever finde difficulty. To joyne with the Spaniards (if any come neere to those parts) they may if they will, and will undoubtedly if they bee never so little discontented. In these inconveniences on the one side, and necessitie on the other, I see not (in my judgement) any better course to bee held, then to temporize somewhat, to feede their humours a while, though it bee chargeable to the Queene, and to mingle lenity and severitie so, as some bee punished for these notorious abuses, when they are apparently proved (let him rage and storme while he wil), and others winked at, whose faults are apparant, and yet more closely carried from direct and manifest proofes, by testimony of witnesses, and therewithall to get what by faire meanes and by force (as I see best occasion to temper them) the best pledges he hath for himselfe, and the best of his people into my hands, & being once possessed of them, to keep them till I see greater cause of assurance of his fidelitie, or at the least a lesse occasion of suspition, which course I am alreadie entred into, under a good colour, as having taken his second sonne (the elder being at Dublin) together with two more of the chiefeest men about him, with his owne consent, in the name of pledges for others, but in truth most of all for himselfe. I am not ignorant but he will grievously complaine against me for those courses, and many of our owne Nation will whet him forward, some for want of knowledge of the truth, some blinded with private malice against my owne person, and whatsoever shall happen amisse upon cause of his discontentment, will be imputed to me, and the

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corruption of my dealings, but I flie to your honour for succour, and gladly submit my selfe to a better course, if I may be instructed; for such is the state of the businesse betweene me and him, without partiallitie or malice, both upon the dutie of my alleageance, and perill of my soule.

Together with this letter, Sir Henry Dockwra sent to his Lordship the copy of the following letter he had lately written to the Lords in England.

Most Honourable Lords; the journey mentioned in my former letters, and intended upon Ocané, I set forward on, before Captain Vaughan departed the River, having first shipped all necessary provisions for planting a Garrison at Colrane, and seene them downe the Lough, with a faire wind to carry them thither, before I set forth. Howbeit having passed through the Countrie, and effected in a manner all things to my owne desire, being come unto the place, I found not the ship nor any apparance of newes what was become of her, which the Master excuseth, but so, as I leave to your Lordships to judge, whether sufficiently or no, this bearer being instructed with the full state of the cause. The summe and effect of that journey was, that notwithstanding this, I sent downe Captaine Orme with two hundred English and the Irish of Enishlowen, to passe over at the Greene Castle by water, to the end that he entring at one end of the Countrie, and I at the other, the prey might the more assuredly be taken, or at least the more spoile done, my selfe went overland, passed two paces without resistance, entred the third, beate them from defence of it, set fire on their Camp (containing 30 great houses all full of Corne), tooke Ocanes brother prisoner, that had before perfidiously revolted from the Queenes service (whom I sacrificed in the place), and so passed by, not through the Wood, because it was no ordinarily passage, and a faire way did lie by the Sea side hard by, so came into the Plaines and heart of the Countrie, burning and spoiling,

*Letter from
Sir Henry
Dockwra to
the Lords in
England.*

*Captaine
Orme.*

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*The Country
spoiled.*

till I met that night with Captaine Orme, at a place of strength agreed upon betweene us, who comming a way least looked for, lighted upon the killing of some few of the people, and a small prey of fifty Cowes and five hundred sheepe, for with the rest (for all his sudden comming), they made away, and got to the Mountaines. For foure daies space together afterwards, I devided the forces into three bodies, and traversed first about, and then through the Country, spoiling and burning such a quantity of Corne, and number of houses, as I should hardly have beleaved so small a circuit of ground could have afforded, if I had not seene it. And because I failed of meeting the ship, I held my course towards Tyrone, intending (all under one journey) to have wasted and spoiled as high as Dungannon, but that I was prevented by a sudden thaw of weather, after a long frost and snow (which raised the Rivers, that with much difficulty I could recover home. But being returned, I met with letters from Dunagal, advertising me of their great want of victuall, by reason that the ship (which I had a moneth before dispatched away with all provisions) was not then arrived. Whereupon (having divers other reasons also to draw me that way) I resolved to make my next journey thither, and to settle and establish the Garrison of Ballyshannon. So with one hundred Garrons loade of Bisket and munition, I passed unto them, and happily relieved their greatest wants in a most seasonable time. At my comming I found there was a ship from Galloway arrived within the harbor of Calbeg, and during the time I was there, the other that I had sent from hence, came also into the same harbor, but by extremity of weather (which I was an eie witnes unto) neither of them both was able to put in, either to Ballishannon or Dunnagall, all the time I was there, which was twenty dayes, so that the further fruit of my comming thither, consisted onely in this, that I caused Neale Garve to make a cutting upon the Country for Cowes, wherwith the garrison was plentifully releaved, went to Ashrawe, and there left foure

[II. iii. 259.]

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companies of foot and fifty horse, which I carried from thence, besides those that were at Dunagall before settled, then there got in a sufficient quantity of Corne, to feed the Horse neere all the Winter long, set in turffe and old houses for fewell, by the commodity of the garrons which I carried with me, saw the scituation of Bundroise and Dulike, and all that part of the Countrey, and so returned to Dunagall, where I tooke in Mac Swine Fannaght, and some others of the Countrey, for whom Neale Garve had undertaken and delivered in pledges of his owne, such as in truth I made choice of, more to bridle himselfe, then for any great assurance I thinke they are for the other. Howbeit, the state of things stood in such termes, chiefly by reason of the extreme foulennesse of weather, that I was not altogether unwillingly drawne to accept of their subjection upon slender assurance, whom (had the time served, to compell to other conditions) I should hardly have delt withall, or given eare unto in any sort. But this is the advantage which I thinke my selfe to have gained by taking them in, that Neale Garves importunitie is satisfied (who if his humours be altogether restrained, will undoubtedly prove a desperate Rebelle), himselfe settled in full possession of his owne Countrie (if he can keep it) furnished with meanes to feede his people of his owne, which before I could not be rid of, but he would wring the Queenes store, and besides bee alwaies complaining (as hee did still) of his halfe pay, in which notwithstanding he is now lesse to be hearkened unto, for that the just and reasonable cullour which he had before, of being banished from all private meanes of his owne to maintaine them by, is clearly taken away, and further an opportunitie is gained, that those men which had plaied false before, being returned home, with all their goods, thinking themselves safe and sure under protection, may upon very justifiable reasons hereafter bee looked into, and seized on, when they least expect, and can worst avoide it, whose goods by any other meanes would never bee got, but concealed or done away

*Neale Garves
importunitie
satisfied.*

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*The Castle of
Ballishannon.*

amongst the Rebels, where we shall never finde them. What other benefit is had by settling that Garrison as it is, your Lordships may easily gather out of your owne knowledge, to which the bearer is able to adde somewhat, as having lived a good space of time thereabout, and going furnished with many instructions and remembrances for that purpose, who will also lay downe unto your Lordships the state of the Army, as being a Commissarie, and the necessaries requisite to that place, as being a man specially chosen by the Captaines, and in that kind of businesse requested to labour and sollicite in their behalfe. The Castle of Ballishannon I could not take, by reason the piece of Artillery was not come, nor any manner of provision (so much as a boarde) to bee had for the purpose. But all things are now sent away, which the windes serving fitly to bring thither, that businesse will bee easily effected. But your Lordship must understand, that the Barre at the comming in, is so shallow (whatsoever some vaine men will talke to the contrary), and the rode so open, without being covered with any manner of land, as by meere necessitie the ships that shall be imploied in bringing any thing to it, must bee of very small burthen if they get in, and yet, if any weather arrise, forced (whether they be great or small) to make the place of their unlading at Dunagall, from whence it must bee carried to the other place by land, so that both the charge and trouble thereof will be much more then was expected, or then I could ever be rightly informed of, till I saw it. I have now assembled the Forces, to make another journey into Tyrone, but in so unfit a season of weather, as it yet holds, as I shall be forced to suspend it, till some alteration make the Rivers and high waies more passable.

*Colraine to be
settled.*

The next after that, which I meane (God willing) without question to undertake, is to accomplish my first intent of settling at Colraine, which I know my selfe able to performe, though the whole force of the Rebels should bee returned before I undertake it. But then shall our

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Forces bee so farre extended and divided asunder, as more then the bare keeping of those holds wee are possessed of, we shall not be able to doe, till an new supply of men arrive, which in my opinion should come most seasonably towards the ending of the next moneth, in that the Cowes, (which now their Corne is gone, is their onely reliefe) are then easiest to be set away or spoiled. And for any impeachment wee shall have by the Spaniards, though we be daily threatned by many thundering rumours, yet I see no great reason to suspect their coming hither, nor shall in that respect relie my selfe further then upon your Lordships better intelligence, and most honourable care, according to the occasions shall be offered. Onely this I must put your Lordships in mind of, that by an Army able to master us in field, comming furnished with Artillery, the River and all our provisions both of victuall and munition are easily to bee taken from us, which notwithstanding wee may much prevent, if our Forts at this place be made up in time, (which is almost done already), and a couple of good ships of warre lodged at Cullmore for that straight. Whilst I was my selfe at Ballishannon, I must advertise your Lordships, that I gave charge to Captaine Willes, lying at Lyffer, that with those Forces I left behind, he should make a journey upon Sleught Art, a people in Tyrone, who before my going, made many offers of their subjection, but so as in conclusion I must stand to their curtesie, how long they would continue in that state, and therefore rejected them utterly. He fell (according to my directions) upon them, brought away three hundred Cowes, and burned most of their Houses and Corne. They offer againe a new parley, but because I am resolved to take in none of Tyrone, lest their numbers (to feed upon their owne hungry store) should bee diminished, I doe still refuse them, and will doe all other of that Countrey, except I see some apparant extraordinary and speciall cause to the contrary. So I most humbly recommend my duety and the best service I am able to

*Captain
Willes to
make a
journey upon
Sleught Art.*

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performe to your Lordships command. From the Derry the second of January 1602.

*Rowry
O'Donnell's
services.*

The Lord Deputy being returned from Galloway to Athlone, and being advertised from Rowry O'Donnell, that he had lately done some services against O'Rowrke, did by his letters of the sixth of January give him thanks for the same, encouraging him to drive O'Rowrke out of his Countrey, wherein an Army of foure thousand English was then ready to assist him, with assurance that her Majesty was so incensed by O-Rowrkes contempts, as shee was resolved never to pardon him, and with promise of that Countrey to him and his heires, if hee joined his Forces to expell O'Rowrke. Further his Lordship assured him, that this should be no barre, but rather a furtherance, to his hopes of having his brothers lands. For as hee would never take from Sir Neale Garve any thing formerly given or promised to him, so if hee could prove, that since his submission hee had committed any treason, wherein the other could not by an honourable triall justifie himselfe, then hee should be sure, that his Lordship would satisfie his best expectations.

The ninth of January his Lordship in his and the Counsels letter to the Lords in England, after relation of the present affaires, wrote further as followeth.

*Letter from
the Lord
Deputy to the
Lords in
England.*

IN this journey I the Deputy received her Majesties expresse direction for the reducing of her Highnesse Forces to twelve thousand Foot and one thousand Horse, which I doe most willingly obey, and for performance thereof, I tooke present order, which now is fully put in execution, though upon the sudden it could not be done, the Army being divided in the remote parts of this Kingdome. And albeit I have given straight charge, that out of the new cashered Companies, the bands subsisting should be made strong; yet must I make knowne to your Lordships the difficulties I find to performe this direction, by reason the Souldiers being once cashered, doe use (notwithstanding any care that we can take) to

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wander to and fro, and sometimes fall into the Rebels hands, which use to strip them of their armes and cloathes, sometimes into the hands of bordering Subjects, which deale no better with them, and so they become most miserable creatures: so hard a thing is it to keepe them together, to be turned over to other Companies, when once they know of their cashering; as I remember your Lordships have noted the like difficulty in your letters, to keepe together, and to send over the whole numbers [II. iii. 261.] by you appointed to come into this Kingdome. And in this cashering of Companies, according to her Majesties expresse pleasure, which her Highnesse prescribeth to be of the Irish Companies, that the English may subsist and be made strong, although I would willingly performe this direction; and to that end have discharged a number of Irish Companies heretofore and now, yet seeing the Arch-rebell doth yet hold out, (albeit I have directed such a course for his prosecution by Sir Arthur Chichester, who is in pursuit of him, as before the Spring I hope he shall be quite broken), and that this rebel O Rowrke hath drawne such a head together, I thinke it not amisse yet to continue some of the Irish Companies for a time, hoping with Gods good favour, that ere it be long, I may reduce the Army to a lesser number, and then with more conveniency and lesse danger, may discharge the Irish Companies, which in the meane time I will so exercise and employ, as they shall not be idle, but shall be still exposed to endure the brunt of the service, upon all occasions: And touching the continuing of this service against the Rebell O-Rowrke and his Confederates, (which we are of opinion may not be delaied), for the prevention of further dangers, as also for the upholding of her Majesties Army, in regard of the generall scarcity of all sorts of victuals in all parts of this Kingdome, wee humbly pray your Lordships to remember, that a proportion of victuals be sent to Galloway, Ballishannon, and Lymrick, with all speed, without the which we see no meanes how this service can be followed, or the Army

*Some of the
Irish
companies to
continue.*

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*Harvest
unseasonable
in the Pale.*

in generall may be preserved from perishing. For where it is expected by your Lordships that some great numbers of Beeves, and other victuals may be gotten from the Rebels, we have already so impoverished them by prosecutions, as they are ready to starve. And amongst the Subjects of the Pale, their Harvest was so unseasonable, and their Corne was so destroyed by the weather, as numbers of subjects will undoubtedly die of famine; and we see no meanes for her Majesties Army in this Kingdome to subsist, especially for this present yeere, but upon provisions to be sent out of England, which in discharge of our bounden duties, wee thought meet plainly to signifie unto your Lordships, and doe humbly leave it to your carefull providence: For such abuses as have bene committed in disposing of the victuals, we shall be ready upon the arrivall of such Commissioners, as are purposed to be sent, to yeeld unto them our best assistance, and in the meane season, to have all things in readinesse against their comming.

The sixteenth of January the Lord Deputy received the following letter, directed from her Majesty to his Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell for Ireland.

Elizabeth Regina.

*Letter from
Her Majesty
to the Lord
Deputy, and
the rest of the
Counsell for
Ireland.*

Right trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well. The abuses which by the frauds of Merchants doe daily multiply in the course of exchange, doe cast upon Us so great burthen, and We find them to be so impossible to be prevented, by any cautions that can be devised, (whereof wee have sufficient prooffe in the like fruit that followeth of the restraints made since the first Proclamation published), as We can find no other way to remedy those inconveniences, but by taking from the Merchant all benefit of exchange, other then hereunder is mentioned, in the forme of a Proclamation, which We thinke good to be published in that Kingdome, to make knowne to all men in what manner We intend to allow of the exchange, from the day of the publishing thereof, which

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therefore you shall cause to be done immediately upon the receipt of these Our letters. And for that Our intent is by this Proclamation (as you may perceive by the tenour thereof) to explaine all former Proclamations and Orders touching this matter of the exchange, and that from the day of the publishing of this new declaration of Our pleasure, the same onely be taken for the rule of the exchange, and no benefit of Our former Proclamation to be allowed to any; yet because in some of them there bee some clauses meet for Us to be continued, Wee have here under made a short note of those clauses out of the said Proclamations, which clauses Our pleasure is that you cause to bee taken verbatim, and inserted into this Proclamation when you shall publish it, or else to expresse the substance of them in such words as you shall thinke fit, or to alter or omit any of them, or to adde to this new direction for our advantage; requiring you in your consideration of this our purpose, to cast aside all private respects, and onely to aime at the ease of our great charge, so farre forth as it may be done without inconveniency of greater moment to Our State there, then our charge is to Us.

*Proclamation
upon the
Exchanges.*

[II. iii. 262.]

The Proclamation.

UPON the alteration of the Standard of Our Monies in this Realme, whereunto Wee were led aswell by examples of Our Progenitors, who had ever made a difference betweene the Monies of this Realme, and Our Realme of England, as also by a necessary providence of keeping the sterling Monies, both from the hands of Our Rebels here, and also from transportation into forraigne Countries, which chiefly by the said Rebels and their Factors was done; We did erect an Exchange for the use of all sorts of Our Subjects, & others using entercourse between these 2 Realmes, for converting of Monies of the new Standard of this Realme into sterling Monies in England, and of English Monies into those

*The Forme of
the Proclamation.*

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*The Forme of
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ation.*

of this Realme reciprocally, hoping that the honest and upright carriage of Merchants in an equal exercise of trafficke between the two Realmes, would have caused in the said Exchange an indifferent and mutuall commodity, both to the Merchant for his trade, and to Us for Our payments, and both their & Our intentions have concurred, in preserving the sterling Monies from the Rebels, and from transportation into forraigne Countries: but in this little time of experience which We have made thereof, being not yet two yeeres past, Wee have found Our expectation greatly deceived, and the scope given the first institution of the Exchange, exceedingly abused by the slights and cunnings of Merchants, which though Wee did immediatly (upon the beginning of the Exchange) discover to be breeding; yet did Wee not thinke that the same would ever have growne to such a hight, as since We have perceived. Wherefore We did by some restrictions and limitations seeke to containe those frauds within reasonable bounds; but it falleth out that the remedies proposed, have beene so farre from the easing of the grieffe, as whatsoever hath beene by Us prescribed for the redresse, hath but served for a ground and pretext of new inventions of deceit: for that by the cunning craft of some Merchants, the scope given by Our Proclamation to the said Exchange, is so abused, as that some Merchant who hath brought commodities into that Kingdome from hence, hath not beene content to sell the same for reasonable gaine, but having raised his price of the same commodity to so much in the new monies, as doe in their true value of silver almost countervaille the sterling he paid for it here, viz. That which cost him ten shillings sterling to thirty shillings Irish, after that rate, that which cost him 100 pound to 300 pound, he hath returned to Our Exchange the same 300 pound, which being answered him here in sterling, yeeldeth him profit of three for one, which is so great a gaine, as no adventure of any Merchants into the furthestmost parts of trafficke doth yeeld, and to Us such a burthen, as if the

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ation.*

same should be permitted, were nothing else in effect, but to make Our Exchequer a Mart for the cunning of Merchants to worke upon: Besides many of them have of purpose to make profit by the said Exchange, bought up old bills of debts, from divers persons, to whom payment hath upon just consideration beene deferred, and compounding for the same, for small summes of money of the new Standard, returned the whole upon Us by exchange, whereby they have made an exceeding profit, contrary to the true meaning of Our Proclamation, intended for the use and benefit of such, as exercised an honest and direct course of Merchandize. By which fraudes there is ever a great quantity of monies of the new Standard returned upon Us for sterling Monies in this Realme, but neither is there any proportionable quantity of sterling Monies brought in here into the Exchange, nor delivered into the Banckes to be converted into new Monies there: And consequently, there doth grow upon Us an intollerable burthen, in continuall payments of sterling Monies, and yet the two mischiefs (which were the chiefe cause of alteration of Our Standard) not remedied; that is, the preserving of the sterling Monies from the Rebels, and from transportation into forraigne Countries: For little of it being brought in by Merchants of this Countrey, and the same being not currant to be used here amongst Our good Subjects, We find it partly transported, and partly falling into the hands of the Rebels, wherewith they have beene the better enabled to continue in their wicked courses: Wherefore for redresse of so great abuses daily practised by Merchants, We doe hereby publish, that Our meaning is, that from the day of the publishing hereof, the places of exchanging of monies, shall be onely at Dublyn for this Our Realme of Ireland, and at London for Our Realme of England, for all such as use the trade of Merchandize, but for others that are in Our pay, and have wages of Us, as being of Our Army, or otherwise, there shall be a Bancke maintained at Corke, as heretofore it was, to

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ation.*

receive their bills, but the bills received there, shall be paiable onely at London, and for the use of passengers and souldiers departing out of Our Realme into England, there shall be likewise exchanges at Bristoll and Chester. So as no such souldier or passenger doe bring thither any bill containing above the sum of foure pound. But for Merchants, there shall not be at the said places of Chester and Bristoll, any payment of bills returned, but onely at Our City of London, in such manner as is hereafter expressed. And further Our pleasure and meaning is, that the said Exchange shall extend onely to such, as now are, or hereafter from time to time shall be in Our pay here, serving Us in the field, or in wards, or garrisons, and to all Officers of governement of Justice, of Our revenewes, or of the Exchange, and to such others as are contained in Our establishment: To all and every of whom, We are pleased to allow the benefit of exchanging Monies of the new Standard of this Realme, into Monies currant in England, (wanting onely twelve pence sterling in the pound), viz. yeerely to each of them rateably in his degree, for so much as he doth save, above his expence, of that which hee doth receive yeerely of Us, or ought to receive cleerely for his pay, all deductions and defalcations being foreprized; and so as there be no fraud used by any of them in abusing this Our liberality and favour, contrary to Our true meaning: And for others using trade of Merchandize, although they deserve no favour, in regard of the frauds, wherewith many of them have abused Our gracious meaning, in the institution of Our exchange intended, and in regard of the excessive raising of the prices of all wares, whereby both Our Subjects are extreemely burthened here, and We intollerably charged in the exchange in England, yet in regard of the present poverty of this Our Realme, whereby We conceive that there wanteth as yet for a time sufficient commodities of the growth or manufaction of this Kingdome, wherewith to maintaine trafficke, Wee are pleased to maintaine for their use an exchange in this manner.

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ation.*

That every such person, not being of those that belong to Our Establishment, but a Merchant, who shall deliver to the Master of the Exchange, or his Deputies in this Realme, one hundred pounds, whereof forty pound shall be of the Standard, of sterling mony of silver or of gold, and threescore pound in mixt Monies of the new Standard of this Realme, shall receive of the said Master of the Exchange, or his Deputies, a Bill directed to the Bancke of exchange in England, where the same is payable, whereby hee shall receive for each hundred pound delivered here in that manner, one hundred pounds in Monies currant of England, wanting onely twelve pence in the pound for each pound of the mixt Monies delivered, and for the starling no defalcation to bee made, as heretofore hath been ordained. And after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie. And to the end that the fraudes used by some Merchants may be better prevented, and the Master of the exchange, or his Deputies understand, that he dealeth truly in bringing his monies to the exchange. Our pleasure is, that every such Merchant, resorting to the exchange, shall bring a certificate from the Officers of Our Custome-house, where his goods were entred, what goods he hath entered there, and at what time, to the end that it may thereby be discerned, that he seeketh nothing, but the returne of his owne money, and is not a cullourer of other mens. And for that divers Noble men and Gentlemen of this Realme, have cause many times to repaire into England, either for suites or other necessarie causes, and some have children there, [II. iii. 264.] either at the Universities, or at the Innes of Court or Chancerie, or in Our service at Court, who shall have cause for those purposes to use sterling monie, and to have the moneys of this Realme converted into moneys currant in England, We are pleased, that all such have the benefit of the exchange in such manner, as for those of our Army is above limitted, for such yeerely summes of money, as Our Deputy and Counsell there for the time being, shall thinke good to allow to any of them, upon their

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ation.*

demands. And the Warrant of our said Deputie and Counsell shall bee sufficient Warrant to the Master of our exchange, or his Deputies, for the receiving of all such Billes as they shall require him to admit, for any such Nobleman or Gentleman.

And now having explained some part of the abuses offered to Us in the exchange, and declared Our pleasure for the reformation of them, We doe not doubt but that, as upon the former restrictions by Us proposed to the same end, so now, many ill minded persons will not stick to slander Our doings, as though there were not in Us an honourable meaning to performe what here We have promised, whereof although Our proceedings shall by their true and just effect manifest the contrary, yet because evill tongues accustomed to calumniate the actions of Princes, are sometimes the instruments of alteration of peoples mindes from their dutifull opinions of their Sovereignes, where there is to us nothing so deare as the conservation of the love of our subjects, Wee doe for preventing of any such malicious purposes, require all Magistrates and Officers, who have any charge in the Governement of that Our Kingdome, to have an eare to such evill rumours, and to the spreaders of them, and such as they shall find to be authors or instruments of divulging any slanderous speeches, touching this matter of the exchange, to make them an example for others to bee admonished by. And to assure all men, that this institution of base money in this Kingdome hath had his chieftest ground, upon hope Wee had thereby to weaken the Rebels of this Kingdome, who by the use of sterling money, had and have meanes to provide themselves from forraigne parts, of all things necessarie to maintaine their evill courses. And that the same being by this way partly, and partly by power of Our Army, once suppressed, We shall have just cause to restore the monies of this Realme to such estate, as our Progenitors have accustomed to use here. Given under our Signet at our Pallace of Westminster the foure and twentieth

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day of December, 1602. being of our Raigne the five and fortieth yeere.

The clauses of former Proclamations touching the Exchange meete now to be continued.

The clauses of former Proclamations now to be continued.

The use of sterling Monies or of any other, then these new monies, prohibited uppon penalties of imprisonment and fine; All Officers having power given them to seaze the said monies put in use, and every Informer allowed the moyety of so much as he shall discover.

To allow for all sterling monies of silver, brought into the Exchange, with purpose to receive new Monies for the same, gaine of two shillings in the pound of new monies: for gold two shillings six pence gaine of new monies.

To allow ten in the hundred profit, for all base silver monies brought into the Exchange.

Counterfettters to be severely looked to & punished. All passengers comming into Ireland, to be searched, or put to their oath, what sterling mony they carry with them.

The same day his Lordship and the Counsell here, received this following letter from the Lords in England.

AFter our very hearty commendations to your Lordships, we have received your letter of the seventh of this instant, together with a severall note or abstract of some materiall points and doubts to be considered and resolved, concerning the last prescribed forme of the Exchange. And as both your letters and abstract, were addressed together for answere of her Majesties letter, lately sent unto you with a forme of a Proclamation thereunto annexed, so now you shall againe receive the resolution of her Majesty and us of her Counsell, touching the same matter onely, and the doubts by you propounded, which according to your desire we send with as much speed as a businesse of that importance, (reduced to a new deliberation) could be dispatched. For

Letter from the Lords in England.

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The Proclamation of the Exchange.

the liberty that her Majesty did give you, either of proceeding, or of respite and suspence to publish the Proclamation, according to the judgement you shall make of it upon consideration of any very dangerous effects, that you shall find apparant or likely to ensue, you have rightly acknowledged her Majesties gracious respect unto you, in whom (as the chieftest Ministers of that State) shee reposeth speciall confidence, both for your care and wisdom, and for the opportunity you have (by the present contemplation of all things neere at hand and under your eye) to discern and discover any inconveniencies, and to apply the medicines accordingly. And therefore, although it pleased her to take that resolution (together with us of her Counsell) which was set downe by the said Proclamation, hoping that it would be a meanes to cure and prevent the intollerable frauds and enormities in the practice of the exchange, which was intended and instituted for the ease of her excessive charge, and for the good of her subjects there; yet for as much as you have shewed so great a distrust and feare of dangerous consequence, if you should forthwith have proceeded to the publishing of that Proclamation, and upon advised consultation (as her Majesty assureth her selfe) have propounded these points of doubtfulnesse, that accompanied your letter, shee is well pleased to give such credit to your opinion, as that shee hath upon a new deliberation with us of her Counsell, caused a temper and moderation to be set downe, with the chiefe points whereof you doubted, as may appeare unto you by a forme of a Proclamation, differing from the former, and now sent unto you, wherein because you may readily observe the particular alterations from the former Proclamation, by comparing both together, wee need not make rehearsall of them here, for satisfaction of your doubts. Onely we have thought good to say somewhat concerning the sixth and seventh Articles in your abstract, in which you make question what course is best to bee holden for the discovery of the fraudes used by Merchants and others

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in their exchanges, and what meanes are to be used that her Majesty be not over-burthened in the exchange, upon which questions and your owne opinions thereof delivered, wee cannot omit to make two observations. The one that your selves doe acknowledge the intollerable frauds of Merchants and others used in the exchange, whereby not onely her Majesties gracious intention and meaning of the exchange hath beene extraordinarily abused; but her Subjects in that Realme, by the excessive rates in the sale of all commodities, have beene unconscionably overcharged: And therefore your selves cannot denie, but that it were very dangerous for the exchange to be upholden without remedy of these frauds. The second, that for asmuch as there cannot bee any certaine rule and order prescribed, to avoid these frauds, that shall be free from the evasion of cunning and deceitfull persons, and the onely remedy doth consist in the carefull and diligent oversight of her Majesties Ministers, to whom that trust is committed, her Majesty thinketh that as your selves did truely find the faults and abuses, so none can better provide for their remedy then you, that are there present, and especially you the Treasurer, by whose Ministers errours her Majesty hath beene so much prejudiced. And whereas especiall cause of these frauds is imputed to the multiplicity of the bills of exchange, wee should most willingly be of that mind, to reduce all unto one place at Dublyn, were it not that wee find you the Treasurer to vary in your opinion, having signified heretofore by your particular letters to some of us, that there is no possible way of remedy, but by reducing all the Banckes to one place, and yet by this letter jointly with the rest of the Counsell, delivering your opinion for the establishing of two places, unto which opinion, because we conceive you are wonne, upon the consultation of that Counsell, we have applied our consent thereunto: And to the end it may plainly appeare unto you, how the Merchants & others abusing the exchange, doe most fraudulently serve their turne both upon her Majesties

*The best
course for the
discovery of
the fraudes
used by the
Merchants.*

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[II. iii. 266.] Subjects there, (if it bee true as hath beene informed to us by persons of good credit comming from thence, that they improve their commodities to a treble price, and more, in respect of that Coyne), and likewise upon her Majesties excessive losse, by returne of their money upon the exchange, wee have thought good to send you an Estimate or Calculation of the gaine that one of them may make, and (as it is to be supposed) doth make, in this course upon the expence but of one hundred pounds uttered there in commodities, making and raising there-upon but two for one, whereby you may judge how unreasonable advantage may be further made, upon the profit of three or foure for one, if the Merchant be so ill disposed, or can find the meanes of a corrupt Minister under the Treasurer to combine with him: And so wee bid you right heartily well to fare. From the Court at White-Hall the 24 of December 1602.

*A computation
of the gaine to
a Merchant
by the
Exchange.*

A computation (sent over inclosed in the former letter) of the gaine which a Merchant may make by the Exchange, bringing to the Exchange in each one hundred pound, forty pound sterling: and supposing the Merchant to be without sterling money in his store, or without credit, and to use the Exchange directly.

If he convert one hundred pound sterling into wares, and sell the same in Ireland at the rate of two for one, viz. For two hundred pound Irish, he doth thereby gaine as followeth.

To have the benefit of the Exchange, he must have fourscore pounds sterling, which supposing that he buieth at five shillings Irish each twenty shillings sterling, his fourescore pound sterling doth cost him one hundred pounds Irish.

Then commeth he to the Exchange with one hundred

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pounds Irish, and fourscore pounds sterling; for both which the Minister giveth him a bill to receive in England one hundred seventy five pound sterling, for hee must loose five pound of the exchange of the one hundred Irish.

Then hath he in his purse in England one hundred seventy five pound, defalking his first stocke, which was one hundred pound, resteth cleere to him seventy five pound.

And this he may doe upon as many returnes as he maketh in a yeere.

If it be objected, that he cannot buy sterling money at so low a rate, as for five and twenty shillings Irish, but that he doe pay thirty shilling Irish for twenty shillings sterling, then is his gaine the lesse by nineteene pound, and yet shall he gaine sixe and fifty pound.

*Rate for
sterling money.*

But supposing such a Merchant as is not in necessity to by sterling money with Irish, but that he may borrow it here of friends, though he pay twenty pound in the hundred for it, then is his gaine in this manner.

His hundred pounds sterling converted into wares, and sold in Ireland for two hundred pound Irish, he bringeth to the Exchange one hundred and twenty pound Irish and fourescore pounds sterling borrowed, and receiveth a bill to be paid in England, one hundred fourescore and foureteene pound, loosing sixe pound for the returne of one hundred and twenty pound Irish.

So hath he in his purse in England one hundred fourescore and foureteene pound, out of which deducting one hundred pound, which was the first stocke, resteth to him fourescore and foureteene pound. Out of which gaine, allowing him fourescore pounds, to pay for so much borrowed by him, yet resteth to him foureteene pound.

And further hee hath remaining in his hands in Ireland fourescore pound Irish, remaining of his two hundred Irish, whereof he brought onely one hundred and twenty pound to the Exchange. To have which fourescore pound returned by the Exchange, hee must borrow two

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and thirty pound sterling; and so shall hee have a bill to be paied in England, one hundred and eight pound; for he looseth foure pound for exchange of the fourescore pound Irish: Out of which one hundred and eight pound, abating the two and thirty pound borrowed, there resteth gained seventy sixe pound. Whereunto adding the foureteene pound above mentioned, then the whole gaine is, fourescore and ten pound.

[II. iii. 267.] From whence take for the interest of one hundred and twelve pound, borrowed for three moneths, after twenty in the hundred for a yeere, which is for three moneths sixe pound twelve shillings, and then his cleere gaine is, towards his freight, custome, forbearing the money and other charges, fourescore and foure pound, eight shillings.

*Letters from
Rowry O
Donnell.*

About the end of January, the Lord Deputy returned from Connaght to Dublyn, and by the way received letters from Rowry O Donnell, who now had undertaken the prosecution of O Rorke, and signified his determination to make a roade presently into his Countrey, and to leave some of his men to lie upon him, in some places of convenient strength: but his Lordship being come to Dublyn, received another letter from the said Rory O Donnell, upon the eighteenth of February, signifying that O Rorkes strength was much increased by the repaire of many chiefe Rebels into his Countrey, so as for the present he was nether able to attempt O Rorke, nor to defend himselfe from his attempts, till the English forces should draw up to assist him, the hastning whereof he prayed, and that he might have leave to put up his Creaghtes for a time towards Ballishannon, for his better safetie.

The five and twentieth of February, the Lord Deputie wrote this following letter to the Lords in England, and sent it by the hands of the Lord President of Mounster, at this time going for England.

May it please your Lordships, although I am unwilling to enforme you often of the present estate of this Kingdome, or of any particular accidents

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or services, because the one is subject to so much alteration, and the other lightly delivered unto all that are not present with such uncertainty, and that I am loath to make any project unto your Lordships, either of my requests to you, or my owne resolutions here, since so many things fall suddenly out, which may alter the grounds of either: yet since I do write now by one that can so sufficiently supply the defects of a letter, I have presumed at this time to impart unto your Lordships, that I thinke fit to bee remembred, or doe determine on, most humbly desiring your L^{ps}., that if I erre in the one, or hereafter alter the other, you will not impute it to my want of sincerity or constancy, but to the nature of the subject whereof I must treat, or of the matter whereon I work: And first to present unto your Lordships the outward face of the foure Provinces, and after to guesse (as neere as I can) at their dispositions. Mounster by the good governement and industry of the Lord President, is cleere of any force in rebellion, except some few unable to make any forcible head. In Lemster there is not one declared Rebell: In Connaght there is none but in O Rorkes Country; In Ulster none but Tyrone, and Brian Mac Art, who was never Lord of any Countrey, and now doth with a body of loose men and some creaghts continue in Glancomkynes, or neere the borders thereof. Connogh Macguyre sometimes Lord of Fermannagh, is banished out of the Countrey, who lives with O Rorke, and at this time O Connor Macguyre is possessed of it by the Queene, and holds it for her. I beleeeve that generally the Lords of the Countries that are reclaimed, desire a peace, though they will be wavering, till their lands and estates are assured unto them from her Majesty, and as long as they see a party in rebellion to subsist, that is of power to ruine them if they continue subjects, or otherwise shall be doubtfull of our defence. All that are out, doe seeke for mercy, except O Rorke, and Oswillivan, who is now with O Rorke, and these are obstinate onely out of their

*The outward
face of the
foure Pro-
vinces.*

*Fermannagh
held for the
Queene.*

The loose men. diffidence, to be safe in any forgiveness. The loose men, and such as are onely Captaines of Bonnaghts, as Tyrill, and Brian Mac Art, will nourish the warre, as long as they see any possibility to subsist, and like ill humours, have recourse to any part that is unsound. The Nobility, Townes, and English-Irish, are for the most part as weary of the warre as any, but unwilling to have it ended, generally, for feare that uppon a peace, will ensue a severe reformation of Religion; and in particular, many bordering gentlemen that were made poore by their owne faults, or by rebels incursions, continue their splene to them, now they are become Subjects, and having used to helpe themselves by stealths, did never more use them, nor better prevaile in them, then now that these submitties have laied aside their owne defence, and betaken themselves to the protection and Justice of the State, and many of them have tasted so much sweet in intertainements, that they rather desire a warre to continue them, then a quiet harvest that might arise out of their own honest labour, so that I doe find none more pernicious Instruments of a new warre, then some of these. In the meane time, Tyrone while he shall live, will blow every sparke of discontent, or new hopes that shal lie hid in any corner of the Kingdome, and before hee shall be utterly extinguished make many blases, and sometimes set on fier, or consume the next Subjects unto him. I am perswaded that his combination is already broken, and it is apparant, that his meanes to subsist in any power is overthrowne, but how long he may live as a wood-kerne, and what new accidents may fall out while he doth live, I know not. If it be imputed to my fault, that notwithstanding her Majesties great forces, he doth still live, I beseech your Lordships to remember, how securely the Banditoes of Italy doe live, between the power of the King of Spaine and the Pope: How many men of all Countries of severall times have in such sort preserved themselves long from the great power of Princes, but especially in this Countrey, where there are so many

*Tyrone shall
make many
blases.*

[II. iii. 268.]

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difficulties to carry an Army in most places, so many unaccessable strengths for them to flie unto, and then to be pleased to consider the great worke that first I had, to breake this maine rebellion, to defend the Kingdome from a dangerous invasion of a mighty forraigne Prince, with so strong a party in the Countrey, and now the difficulty to roote out scattered troopes, that had so many unaccessable dens to lurke in, which as they are by nature of extreame strength and perill to be attempted, so is it impossible for any people, naturally and by art, to make greater use of them; and though with infinite danger we doe beat them out of one, yet is there no possibility for us to follow them with such agility, as they will flie to another, and it is most sure, that never Traitor knew better how to keepe his owne head, then this, nor any Subjects have a more dreadfull awe to lay violent hands on their sacred Prince, then these people have to touch the person of their O Neales; and he that hath as pestilent a judgement as ever any had, to nourish and to spread his owne infection, hath the ancient swelling and desire of liberty in a conquered Nation to worke upon, their feare to be rooted out, or to have their old faults punished, upon all particular discontents, and generally over all the Kingdome, the feare of a persecution for Religion, the debasing of the Coyne, (which is grievous unto all sorts), and a dearth and famine, which is already begunne, and must of necessity grow shortly to extremity; the least of which alone, have beene many times sufficient motives to drive the best and most quiet estates into sudden confusion. These will keepe all spirits from setling, breed new combinations, and (I feare) even stirre the Towns themselves, to sollicite forraigne aid, with promise to cast themselves into their protection: And although it be true, that if it had pleased her Majesty, to have longer continued her Army in greater strength, I should the better have provided for what these Cloudes doe threaten, and sooner and more easily either have made this Countrey a rased table, wherein

*The O Neales
cunning.*

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The Warre
carried on
without inter-
mission.*

[II. iii. 269.]

shee might have written her owne lawes, or have tied the ill disposed and rebellious hands, till I had surely planted such a government, as would have overgrowne and killed any weeds, that should have risen under it, yet since the necessity of the State doth so urge a diminution of this great expence, I will not dispaire to goe on with this great worke, through all these difficulties, if we be not interrupted by forraigne forces, although perchance wee may be encountered with some new eruptions, and (by often adventuring) with some disasters; and it may be your Lordships shall sometimes heare of some spoiles done upon the Subjects, from the which it is impossible to preserve them in all places, with farre greater Forces then ever yet were kept in this Kingdome: And although it hath beene seldome heard, that any Army hath beene carried on with so continuall action and enduring, without any intermission of Winter breathings, and that the difficulties at this time, to keepe any Forces in the place where we must make the warre, (but especially our Horse), are almost beyond any hope to prevent, yet with the favour of God and her Majesties fortune, I doe determine, my selfe to draw into the field, as soone as I have received her Majesties commandements by the Commissioners, whom it hath pleased her to send over, and in the meane time I hope, by my owne presence or directions, to set every party on worke, that doth adjoyne or may bee drawne against any force that now doth remaine in rebellion. In which journey the successe must bee in the hands of God, but I will confidently promise to omit nothing that is possible by us to bee done, to give the last blow unto the Rebellion. But as all paine and anguish, impatient of the present, doth use change for a remedie, so will it bee impossible for us to settle the mindes of this people unto a peace, or reduce them unto order, while they feele the smart of these sensible griefes, and apparant feares which I have remembered to your Lordships, without some hope of redresse or securitie. Therefore I will presume (how unworthy soever I am)

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since it concernes the Province her Majestie hath given me, with all humblenesse to lay before your grave judgements, some few things, which I thinke necessarie to bee considered of.

And first, whereas the alteration of the coine, and taking away of the exchange, in such measure as it was first promised, hath bred a generall grievance unto men of all qualities, and so many incommodities to all sorts, that it is beyond the judgement of any that I can heare, to prevent a confusion in this estate, by the continuance thereof; that (at the least) it would please your Lordships to put this people in some certaine hope, that upon the ende of the warre, this new standard shall bee abolished, or eased, and that in the meane time the Armie may bee favourably delt with in the Exchange, since by the last Proclamation your Lordships sent over, they doe conceive their case will bee more hard then any others; for if they have allowed them nothing, but indefinitely as much as they shall merely gaine out of their intertainments, that will prove nothing to the greater part. For the onely possibility to make them to live upon their intertainement, will bee to allow them exchange for the greatest part thereof, since now they doe not onely pay excessive prices for all things, but can hardly get any thing for this money; and although wee have presumed to alter (in shew, though not effect) the Proclamation in that point, by retaining a power in our selves to proportion their allowance for exchange, yet was it, with a minde to conforme our proceedings therein, according to your Lordships next directions, and therefore doe humbly desire to know your pleasures therein. For our opinions of the last project it pleased your Lordships to send us, I doe humbly leave it to our generall letters, onely as from my selfe I made overture to the Counsell of the other you sent directed onely to my selfe, and because I found them generally to concurre, that it would prove as dangerous as the first, I did not thinke it fit any otherwise to declare your Lordships pleasure therein.

*The alteration
of the coine.*

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*The great
matter of
Religion.*

[II. iii. 270.]

And whereas it pleased your Lordships in your last letters to command us to deale moderately in the great matter of Religion, I had, before the receipt of your Lordships letters, presumed to advise such as delt in it, for a time to hold a more restrained hand therein, and we were both thinking our selves, what course to take in the revocation of what was already done, with least incouragement to them and others, since the feare that this course begun in Dublin would fal upon the rest, was apprehended over all the Kingdom, so that I thinke your Lordships direction was to great purpose, & the other course might have overthrowne the meanes to our owne end of reformation of religion. Not that I thinke too great precisenesse can bee used in the reforming of our selves, the abuses of our owne Clergie, Church-livings, or discipline, nor that the truth of the Gospell can with too great vehemency or industrie bee set forward, in all places, and by all ordinary meanes most proper unto it selfe, that was first set forth and spread in meekenesse, nor that I thinke any corporall prosecution or punishment can be too severe for such, as shall bee found seditious instruments of forraigne or inward practises, nor that I thinke it fit, that any principall Magistrates should bee chosen without taking the Oath of Obedience, nor tollerated in absenting themselves from publike Divine Service, but that wee may bee advised how wee doe punish in their bodies or goods any such onely for Religion, as doe professe to bee faithfull subjects to her Majestie, and against whom the contrarie can not be proved. And since, if the Irish were utterly rooted out, there was much lesse likelihood that this Countrey could be thereby in any time planted by the English, since they are so farre from inhabiting well any part of that they have already, and that more then is likely to be inhabited, may be easily chosen out and reserved, in such places by the Sea-side, or upon great Rivers, as may be planted to great purpose, for a future absolute reducement of this Countrey, I thinke, it would asmuch availle the speedy setling of this Countrey as any thing,

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*The planting
of the
Countrey.*

that it would please her Majesty to deale liberally with the Irish Lords of Countries, or such as now are of great reputation among them, in the distribution of such lands as they have formerly possessed, or the State here can make little use of for her Majesty. If they continue, as they ought to doe, and yeeld the Queene as much commodity as shee may otherwise expect, shee hath made a good purchase of such subjects for such land. If any of them hereafter be disobedient to her lawes, or breake forth in rebellion, shee may when they shall be more divided, ruine them more easily, for example unto others, and (if it bee thought fit) may plant English or other Irish in their Countries: For although there ever have beene, and hereafter may be small eruptions, in some places, which at the first may easily be suppressed, yet the suffering them to grow to that generall head and combination, did questionlesse proceed from great error in the judgement here, and may be easily (as I thinke) prevented hereafter. And further it may please her Majesty to ground her resolution, for the time and numbers of the next abatement of the lyst of her Army, somewhat upon our poore advice from hence, and to beleieve that wee will not so farre corrupt our judgements with any private respect, as without necessity, to continue her charge, seeing wee doe thorowly conceive how greevous it is unto her estate, and that wee may not be precisely tied to an establishment, that shall conclude the payments of the Treasurer, since it hath ever beene thought fit to be otherwise, till the comming over of the Earle of Essex, and some such extraordinary occasion may fall out, that it will bee dangerous to attend your Lordships resolutions, and when it will be safe to diminish the Army here, that there may be some course thought of, by some other employment to disburthen this Countrey of the idle Sword men, in whom I find an inclination apt enough to be carried elsewhere, either by some of this Countrey of best reputation among them, or in Companies as now they stand under English Captaines, who may be rein-

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Passages and
bridges.*

*The Lord
President of
Mounster.*

[II. iii. 271.]

forced with the greatest part of Irish. That it may be left to our discretion, to make passages and bridges into Countries otherwise unaccessible, and to build little piles of stone in such garrisons, as shall be thought fittest to be continuall bridles upon the people, by the commodity of which, wee may at any time draw the greatest part of the Army together to make a head against any part that shall first breake out, and yet reserve the places onely with a ward, to put in greater Forces as occasion shall require, which I am perswaded will prove great pledges uppon this Countrey, that upon any urgent cause the Queene may safely draw the greatest part of her Army here out of the Kingdome, to be employed (at least for a time) elsewhere, wherein I beseech your Lordships to consider, what a strength so many experienced Captaines and Souldiers would be, to any Army of new men erected in England, against an invasion, or sent abroad, in any offensive warre: but untill these places be built, I cannot conceive how her Majesty (with any safety) can make any great diminution of her Army. Lastly, I doe humbly desire your Lordships to receive, the further explanation of my meaning and confirmation of the reasons that doe induce me unto these propositions from the Lord President of Mounster, who as he hath beene a very worthy actor in the reducement and defence of this Kingdome, so doe I thinke him to be best able to give you through accompt of the present estate, & future providence for the preservation thereof, wherein it may please your L^{ps} to require his opinion, of the hazard this Kingdome is like to runne; if it should by any mighty power be invaded, & how hard it will be for us in any measure to provide for the present defence, if any such be intended, & withall to goe on with the suppression of these that are left in Rebellion, so that wee must either adventure the new kindling of this fire, that is almost extinguished, or intending onely that, leave the other to exceeding perill. And thus having remembred to your Lordships the most materiall Points (as I conceive), that are fittest for the

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present to bee considered of, I doe humbly recommend my selfe and them to your Lordships favour. From her Majesties Castle of Dublin this sixe and twentieth of Februarie, 1602.

At the same time the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lords in England, about his private affaires, wherein he signified, that al manner of provisions necessarie for the maintenance of an household were (of late especially) bought at such excessive rates (aswell in regard of the famine growing daily greater in Ireland, (by the continuall spoile of the Countrie, and the Armies cutting downe of the Rebels Corne for these last two yeeres) as also in regard of the disvaluation of the mixed coyne now currant, after the taking away of exchange (whereof each shilling had no more then two pence halfepenny silver in it), and that the prices of the said provisions daily so increased, as foure times the entertainment allowed him by her Majesty for his maintenance, would not answere his ordinarie expences, except it would please their Lordships to allow him exchange for the most part of his entertainment, that thereby he might be inabled to make his provisions out of England.

*Al manner of
provisions
scarce in
Ireland.*

In the beginning of March, the Lord Deputie understood, that Brian Mac Art had secretly stolen into Killoltagh, with some five hundred men under his leading, (as hee had lately done the like, but was soone driven out againe by Sir Arthur Chichester.) Whereupon his Lordship sent Sir Richard Moryson from Dublyn up to his Garrison in Lecayle, and gave him his Lordships guard, and three other Companies of Foote to leade with him, that he might assist Sir Arthur Chichester in the prosecution of this Rebell, who was soone driven out of Killoltagh by those forces.

*Brian
Mac Art.*

Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the Rebels Corne, and using al meanes to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the Rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson,

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*The miserable
estate of the
rebels.*

and the other Commanders of the Forces sent against Brian Mac Art aforesaid, in their returne homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above ten yeeres old), all eating and knawing with their teeth the entrals of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty dayes past, and having eaten all from the feete upward to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entralls in like sort roasted, yet not divided from the body, being as yet raw. Former mention hath been made in the Lord Deputies letters, of carcases scattered in many places, all dead of famine. And no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebell souldiers taking all the common people had to feede upon, and hardly living thereupon, (so as they besides fed not onely on Hawkes, Kytes, and unsavourie birds of prey, but on Horseflesh, and other things unfit for mans feeding), the common sort of the Rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities (beyond the record of most Histories that ever I did reade in that kind) the ample relating whereof were an infinite taske, yet wil I not passe it over without adding some few instances. Captaine Trevor & many honest Gentlemen lying in the Newry can witnes, that some old women of those parts, used to make a fier in the fields, & divers little children driving out the cattel in the cold mornings, and comming thither to warme them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girle breaking from them by strength of her body, and Captaine Trevor sending out souldiers to know the truth, they found the childrens skulles and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact. The Captaines of Carick-fergus, and the adjacent Garrisons of the Northerne parts can witnesse, that upon the making of peace, and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practise among the common sort of them (I meane such as were not Sword-men), to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troopes, and they dying thereupon, to bee readie to teare

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out one anothers throate for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the Ditches of Townes, and especiallie in wasted Countries, then to see multitudes of these poore people dead with their mouthes all coloured greene by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground. These and very many like lamentable effects followed their rebellion, and no doubt the Rebels had been utterly destroyed by famine, had not a generall peace shortly followed Tyrones submission (besides mercy formerly extended to many others), by which the Rebels had liberty, to seeke reliefe among the subjects of Ireland, and to be transported into England and France, where great multitudes of them lived for some yeeres after the peace made. [II. iii. 272.]

The fourth of March the Lord Deputy received letters from Sir Henry Dockwra, advertising many vehement suspitions of Sir Neale Garves disloial purposes, namely, his underhand putting Mac Swyne to goe againe into rebellion, and to take an Iland of his, which was a fit place to set up a new rebellion, and also his making a storehouse of Armes, with extraordinary provisions of them. Further he advertised, that himself used all meanes to keepe Tyrone in the Glynnes (where hee now was) till his Lordship came up (which journey he advised to bee in the beginning of the next moneth), but understanding that within few daies hee would remove towards Fermanagh, howsoever the English there at that time were weake, yet he would lye for the Arch-rebel on his way to Omy, or Agher, not doubting but in the passage of those Plaines hee should have some opportunity of fighting with him, and (at the least) to take good part of his prey from him. Lastly, he advertised, that he had razed Hen. Ovingtons Castle, and Mac Hughes Iland, which both had been neasts and starting holes for theeves.

*Neale Garves
dishial
purposes.*

The fifteenth of March the Lord Deputy left Dublin, and rode towards the Northerne borders, where his Lordship (with his retinue) lay to and fro, the remaining few dayes of this yeere (and part of the beginning of the next,

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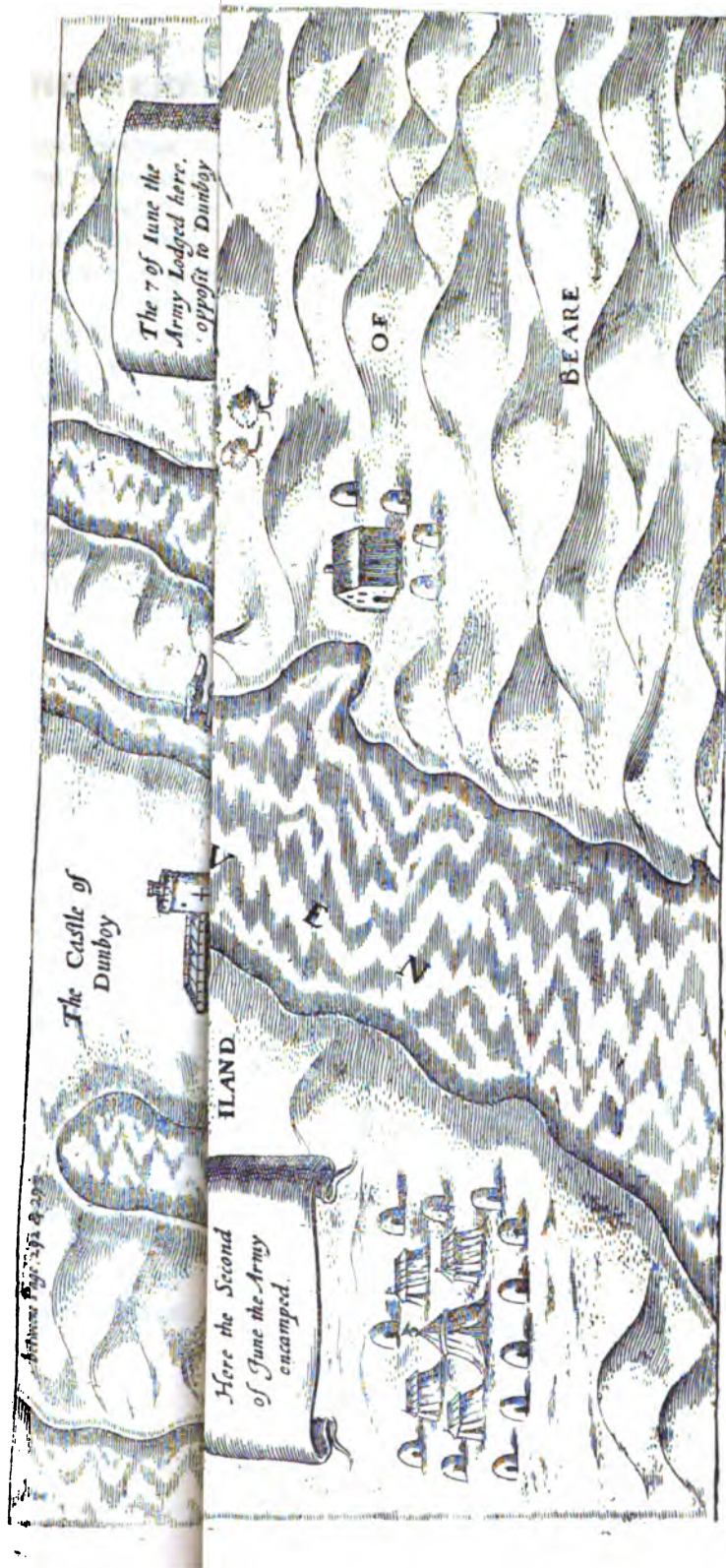
till Tyrone was received to mercy, and the war ended) to the end his Lordship being in those parts, might give life to the present service, as wel of the forces sent to prosecute Ororke, as of the Garrisons lying in waite for all advantages upon Tyrone himselfe and his broken partakers.

*The affaires of
Mounster.*

Touching Mounster affaires in the yeere 1602, the Lord Deputy at his comming from Corke caused Sir Ric. Percy to be sworne Counsellor for the Province of Mounster, and in his journall towards Cillkenney Knighted three Irish men, John Fitz Edmonds and two Citizens of Watterford, Edward Gough, and Richard Aylward. The Lord President at Kilkenny tooke his leave of the Lord Deputy, and making short Journeys, by reason he was sickly, came not to Corke, till the third of Aprill, 1602.

*The Castle of
Donboy.*

When the Spaniards by composition were to render the Castels in the West, O Swillivan Beare had surprised his Castle of Donboy in Beerehaven from the Spaniards, whereof some were killed in the surprisall, which freed them from suspicion to have yeelded it voluntarily contrary to the composition. This strong Castle upon an excellent haven O Swillivan kept for the King of Spaine, having sixty Warders with him at first, and three pieces of Spanish Ordinance. The Lord President meaning to take this Castle, tooke the field the 23 of Aprill, and after many attempts upon the Rebels, in which some of them were killed, and some taken and executed, and many preyes taken by parties sent out, it was resolved the fourteenth of May to passe the forces over to an Iland, called the great Iland, that way to march to Beerehaven, the way thither by land being unpassable for the victuals and carriages, besides many places of advantage in the Mountaines, where the Rebels, though few in number, might distresse a great Army, and easily forbid their passage. Here by the sea side, the Foote staid for the ships carrying the Victuals, Munition and Ordinance, which were detained by contrary winds till the last of May. The sixth of June, the forces were ferried over to the land



THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE OF DUNBOY

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neere Castle Dermot, where they incamped; and though they landed in another part then the Rebels expected, who lay there to hinder, and impeach their landing, yet the Rebels hasted to them to begin the skirmish with them, when they were in good order, and almost had all passed the Ferry, so as the Rebels having no advantage in this fight, they left 28 dead in the place, and had more then 30 wounded, whereof Captaine Tirrel was one, being slightly hurt in the belly, and some were taken prisoners, whereas on our part onely seven were hurt. The tenth of June, our forces having landed their Ordinance, incamped within musket shot of the Castle of Donboy, but not within the sight of the Castle, a rising ground lying betweene the Campe and the Castle, so as the great shot from the Castle flew over the Campe without doing any hurt. The twelfth a Fort within the Iland of Dorses, kept by the Rebels, was surprized by the English, and all the Rebels killed or hanged, and therein were taken three Iron Peeeces of Spanish Ordinance. The 17th of June after two daies battery, the English assaulted the breach, and possessed part of the Castle Dunboy, the Rebels keeping and defending the rest, all that day and night, and great part of the next, at which time the English were by force made full Masters of it. The Rebels defending it, were 134 selected Souldiers, and all of them were killed in the Castle, or seeking to flie, or being prisoners were executed in the campe, except twelve men of chiefe accompt, and most esteemed by Tyrrell, which were kept to be examined upon torture, or to worke some good for the service with Tyrrell, by the saving of their lives. Of Spanish Ordinance, there was taken one Demy Culverin, two Sakers, and one Falcon of brasse, and two Sakers, five Minions, and one Falcon of Iron. The Gunners were Italians and Spaniards, who perished with the rest, nine barrells of powder taken in the Castle, were imploied to blow it up, lest any Spaniards or Rebels might after make use of it.

[II. iii. 273.]

*The Castle
assaulted and
taken.*

This Castle taken, the Lord President returned to

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*Sir Charles
Wilmott
Governour of
Kerry.*

*Carbery re-
volted.*

Corke, where Sir Samuel Bagnoll attended his comming with letters from the Lord Deputy, and according to his Lordships directions, the Lord President sent by him 1500 Foote, being above the old Mounster lyst, who came with these Forces to the Lord Deputy the 29 of July, and brought letters from the Lord President, advertising the above mentioned confident expectation of a second Spanish invasion. At the same time Sir Edward Wingfield was landed at Corke, bringing to the Lord President 500 foote for supplies of the weake Companies. Sir Charles Wilmott Governour of Kerry, (wherein were many provincially Rebels, besides 1000 strangers to helpe them,) had before the siege of Dunboy prosecuted Mac Morris, cleered Kerry of all Rebels, and prosecuted them into Desmond, taken Castles and great preyes of Cowes, and brought the Knight of Kerry on his knees, and this done, hee marched towards the Lord President in his way to Dunboy, and united his Forces to the Army. After the taking of that Castle, he was now againe sent into Kerry, with directions that all garrisons should burne the Corne they could not gather, and that he should remove the Irish Inhabitants with their goods to a Countrey neere Lymricke, that the Spaniards againe expected, might make no use of them. In August the Lord President was advertised that many in Carbery revolted, and that upon a ship from Spaine not long before arrived with money to distribute among the most active Rebels, Donnogh Mac Carty and Finen his brother (who had attended the Lord president at the siege of Dunboy) were now revolted, and had taken impresse money from the King of Spaine, whereupon the two Captaines Roger and Gawen Harvy lying there in garrison, had taken many preyes from them, and spoiled the Countrey. And yet by daily intelligence the Lord President understood, that the newes of the taking of Dunboy comming into Spaine, the King had commanded to stay all his provisions for Ireland, till his pleasure were further signified. And no doubt the Queenes Fleet lying at this time upon the coast

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of Spaine, most of all discouraged him from any new attempt in succour of the Irish Rebels. About the end of August it was generally divulged in Mounster that a Spanish Fleet was discovered upon the Coast, whereupon the Irish posted up and downe the Country with great signes of joy, so as at the Lord Presidents suit, Sir Samuel Bagnol was sent backe to him with the forces he had formerly led out of Mounster to the Lord Deputy.

*Another
bruite of the
Spaniards.*

The second of September the Lord President received this following gratiuous letter written from the Queene with her owne hand.

Your Soveraigne, E.R.

MY faithfull George, how joied We are that so good event hath followed so troublesome endeavours, laborious cares, and heedfull travels, you may guesse, but We best can witnesse, and doe protest that your safety hath equalled the most thereof. And so God even blesse you in all your actions.

*A letter
written by the
Queenes owne
hand.*

About this time the Lord President having received manifest proofes that Cormock mac Dermod, Lord of Muskery, had lately committed many acts of treason, caused him to be apprehended & committed prisoner to the gentleman Porter, & hearing his followers practised his escape, gave the said gentleman Porter charge to keepe him safely upon his danger to answere for him, in the meane time seazing all his Castles into her Majesties hands, and likewise causing his wife and children to be brought prisoners to Corke. Notwithstanding, Cormocke escaped out of a window, the nine and twenty of September; yet being heartned to rebellion by Captaine Tyrrell and Oswillivan Beare, hee considered that his Castles were all in the Queenes power, his eldest sonne lately Student in Oxford, was now kept prisoner in the Tower, that his yongest sonne, his wife and daughter, and many of his chiefe followers were now prisoners at Corke, and that the Rebels desiring to joine with him, were hunger-starved, and would live upon his Countrey already wasted,

[II. iii. 274.]

*Cormocke
mac Dermod
escapes.*

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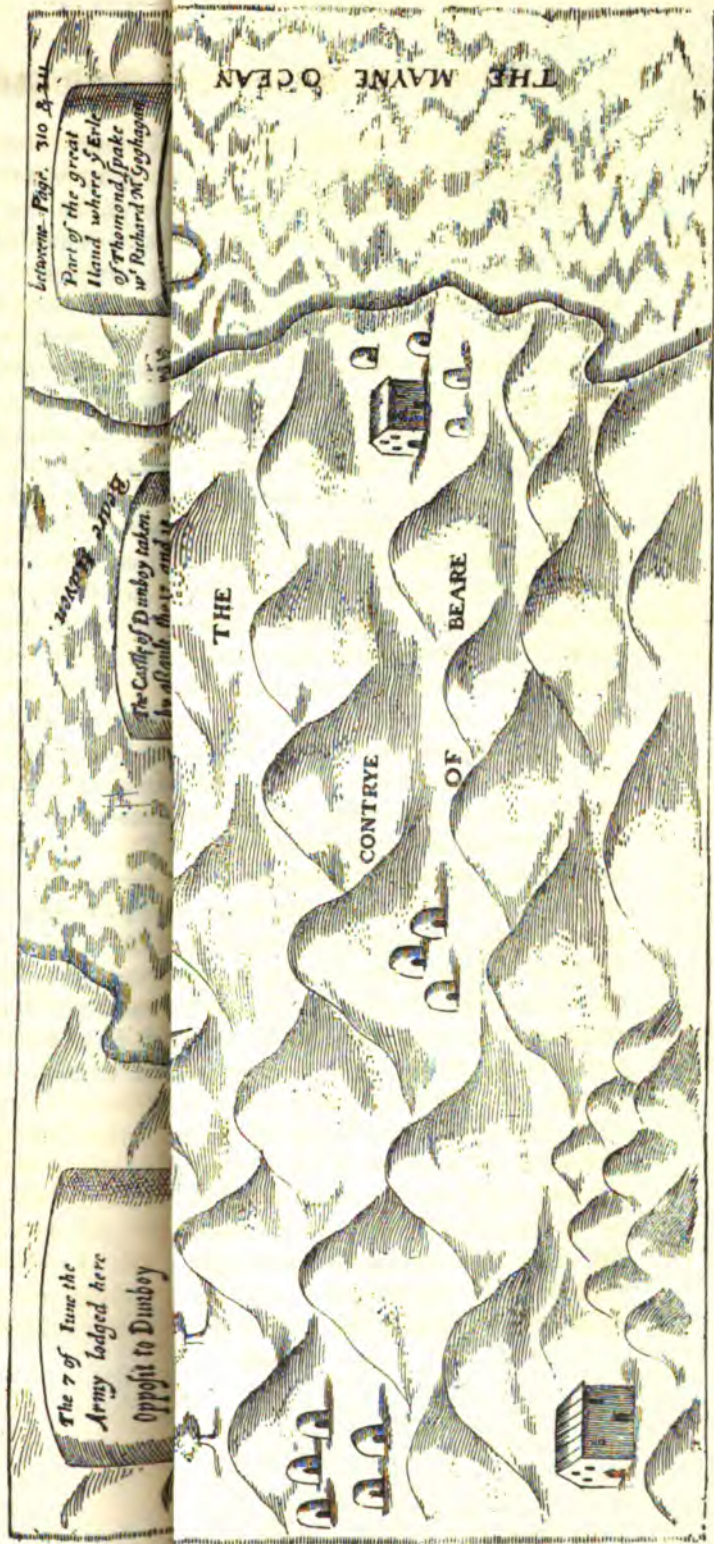
and therefore hee wisely chose to submit himselfe to her Majesties mercy, and upon the two and twentieth of October, this his submission was accepted.

*O Donnell
dead in Spaine.*

About this time the Lord President heard that O Donnell was dead in Spaine. The three and twentieth of October Sir Samuell Bagnoll, with the Regiment sent back from the Lord Deputy, fell by night upon Tyrrels Campe, lying in Muskery, to expect Cormocks returne, killed eighty of his men, made him flie away in his shirt, tooke all his Cattle being more then one thousand, with sixty Horses and hacknies, besides things unseene in Irish spoiles, as velvet, outlandish apparell, Spanish Coyne, and all the money Tyrrell had gotten of the proportion sent from Spaine, and made Tyrrell flie into the Mountaines of Desmond. In November Sir Charles Wilmott brake by night into the quarter of the Knight of Kerry, killed forty of his men, tooke five hundred Cowes, two hundred Garrons, and two moneths provision of meale. The Rebels Tyrrell, Burke, Oswillivan, and Mac Morris, being daily assaulted by the English, and spoiled of their Cattle, the rest of this moneth and the following of December, and having many of their best men killed, suddenly fell into disputations, and after to controversies, and so the strangers resolved to steale away, as they did with great amasement, leaving the fastnesses they had held, to the ransacking of the English, first Tyrrell, then William Bourke, who leading 1500 men, marched towards the Pale, Sir Charles Wilmott having first in another conflict with them, killed many of the most forward Kerne, taken all their baggage and prey of Cattle, being 2000 Cowes, 4000 Sheepe, and 1000 Garrons.

*The Knight of
Kerry
spoiled.*

In December the Lord President leaving Sir Charles Wilmott to command in chiefe all the Forces, having besides the Lord Barry with 1600 Provincials under him, to attend such services as he should direct, left the Province of Mounster to meet the Lord Deputy at Galloway in Connaght. In the meane time the said Rebels fled towards the Pale as broken men, some resolv-



THE ARMY ENCAMPTED BEFORE THE CASTLE OF DUNBOY

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ing to joine with Tyrone, and some to returne into Connaght their owne Countrey, wherewith the Mounster Rebels were so danted, as they daily came in to Sir Charles Wilmott in great numbers, and with much Cattle, to submit themselves to mercy. The Lord President before his journey into Connaght, tooke order that Oswillivan Beares Countrey should be so wasted, as neither Spaniards nor Rebels should find reliefe there. About this time Captaine Taafe commanding our Irish men in Carbery, assayled a band of Rebels led by a Priest, the Popes Nuntio, killed him with most of his men, and got all their Cattle: And now in the absence of Oswillivan fled away, his Countrey was wasted and his Castles all taken. The foresaid Priest was a man of speciall authority, so as upon his death the Mac Carties and all Carbery submitted to mercy, and had power over all spirituall livings in Ireland, so as all Priests depended upon him.

*A Band of
Rebels led by
a Priest.*

The Lord President returned into Mounster in January from Connaght, and having sent Sir Edward Wingfeild with certaine Companies of foote into Connaght, according to the Lord Deputies direction, and leaving Sir Charles Wilmott, and Sir G. Thornton Commissioners to governe Mounster, himselfe in the beginning of February rode to Dublyn, leaving no Rebell in Mounster but Mac Morris, the Knight of the Glan, Thomas Oge, and Connor O Driscoll, not able joyntly to make two hundred men, whereof Mac Morris in few daies was well beaten and spoiled of all he had by Sir Char. Wilmott. And in the beginning of March the L. President sailed into England from Dublin.

[Chap. II.

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[II. iii. 275.]

Chap. II.

Of Tyrones taking to mercy, whereby the warre was fully ended. And of a new mutinie of the Cities of Mounster for establishing the publike exercise of the Roman Religion, with the appeasing thereof in the beginning of the yeere 1603. Together with the Lord Deputies recalling into England, and the rewards there given him for his service in the beginning of the yeere 1603; with mention of his untimely death within few yeeres after and a word of the State of Ireland some ten yeeres after.

*The Lord
Deputies letter
to Master
Secretary
touching
Tyrones taking
to mercy.*



He five and twentieth of March, in the beginning of the yeere 1603, the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter from Mellifant, Sir Garret Moores house, to Master Secretary in England.

SIR, I have received by Captaine Hayes her Majesties letters of the sixth of February, wherein I am directed to send for Tyrone, with promise of securitie for his life onely, and upon his arrivall, without further assurance, to make stay of him, till her pleasure should bee further knowne, and at the same time I received another from her Majestie of the seventeenth of February, wherein it pleased her to enlarge the authority given unto me, to assure him of his life, liberty and pardon, upon some conditions remembred therein. And withall I received a letter from your selfe of the eighteenth of February, recommending to me your owne advice to fulfill (as far as I possibly could) the meaning of her Majesties first letter, and signifying her pleasure, that I should seeke by all the best meanes I can, to promise him his pardon by some other name then Earle of Tyrone, and rather by the name of Barron of

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Dungannon, or if it needes must bee, by the name of some other Earle. Secondly, to deliver him his Country in lesse quantity, and with lesse power then before he had it. And lastly, to force him to cleare his paces and passages, made difficult by him against any entrie into his Countrie. And now since it hath pleased her Majesty, by so great a trust, to give me so comfortable Arguments of her favour, I am incouraged the more freely to presume to declare my selfe in this great matter, which I call great, because the consequence is great, and dangerous to be delt in, without the warrant of her gracious interpretation. And though my opinion herein should proceede from a long and advised consideration, described with large and many circumstances, and confirmed with strong and judicall reasons, yet because I thinke it fit to hasten away this messenger, I will write of these things somewhat, though on the sudden, and commit the rest to the sufficient judgement and relation of the Lord President, now in his journey towards you, and the rather, because I finde him to concurre with mee, in the apprehension of this cause, and of the state of all other things of this Kingdome. And first, for her Majesties first letter; I pray you Sir beleieve me, that I have omitted nothing, both by power and policy to ruine him, and utterly to cut him off, and if by either I may procure his head, before I have engaged her Royall word for his safety, I doe protest I will doe it, and much more be ready to possesse my selfe of his person, if by only promise of life, or by any other meanes, wherby I shal not directly scandal the majesty of publike faith, I can procure him to put himself into my power. But to speak my opinion freely, I thinke that he, or any man in his case, would hardly adventure his liberty to preserve onely his life, which he knoweth how so well to secure by many other waies, for if he flie into Spaine, that is the least wherof he can be assured, and most men (but especially he) doe make little difference betweene the value of their life and liberty, and to deceive him I thinke it will bee hard; for though wiser men then

*Nothing
omitted to
ruine Tyrone.*

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[II. iii. 276.]

*The danger of
Tyrone's pre-
sent state.*

hee may be over-reached, yet he hath so many eyes of jealousie awake, that it will bee impossible to charme them, and I do (upon assured ground) beleeve, that it is nothing but feare of his safety, that of a long time (especially of late) hath kept him from conformity to the State, and if any thing do keep him now from accepting the lowest conditions, and from settling himself and his hart, to a constant serving of her Majestie, it will be feare of an absolute forgiveness, or the want of such an estate, as may in any measure content him. The danger of his subsisting as he doth, is either, if there come no forraigne forces, to maintaine still a loose head of Rebellion (which will be better able to offend any such as are become subjects, then we can be, if we were a thousand times more, to defend them at all times, and in all places) to stirre up, and to maintaine al humors, and to be a wound remaining open, unto which they may have recourse, and upon all accidents bee readie to swell, or to infect the whole bodie of this Kingdome : Otherwise, if there should be any invasion, to be a powerfull and politick head, to draw this Countrie to their assistance. If there come no forraigne Forces, and that hee should bee cut off, yet is it likely, some other in the nature of a spoiling outlaw would arise up in his place, as ill as himselfe ; and if hee bee kept prisoner, the like effects will arise, as if hee were dead. If hee bee cut off, or kept prisoner, and the Spaniards should arrive, most of the Swordmen will flocke unto them for advantage of pay, and the discontentment of Lords of Countries would be as great, or greater, then if hee were amongst them, and therefore they as likely to fall then as now, to the Spanish partie : but if it were possible to make him a good subject, the use her Majestie may make of him, must bee amongst these people, since during his life and libertie, none will aspire to that place of O Neale, which doth carrie with it so great an interest in the North, and what interest hee hath, hee may bee led to employ, to suppress and settle the mindes of the people to government, and

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having once declared himselfe to bee a dutifull subject, it will be first a great discouragement for the Spaniards to come; and if they doe come, if hee continue honest, his presence and interest will sway the North from giving them assistance, or annoying the subjects, if we withdraw our Garrisons, and make the rest of Ireland more advised how they declare themselves against the State.

Sir, to conclude, because I cannot shortly expresse mine owne minde herein, I thinke it best, if it please her Majestie, to receive him to her mercy, so that first his submission bee made in as humble sort, and as much for her Majesties Honour as can be devised, and then that she assure him of absolute forgiveness, and forgetting of his faults, and as much honour and profit as he had before, provided that wee take from him (as much as possibly wee may) those lockes wherein his chiefest strength lyes. Otherwise I am perswaded, either the Queene shal not serve her owne turne by him, if shee keepe him prisoner, or he will serve his turne if he live at liberty, and ever have (*Animum revertendi*) an affection to relapse. How I am resolved to proceede in this businesse, you shall know by the Lord President, which notwithstanding many things may alter, but for the substance I doe thinke we shall be able to compasse as much, as by her Majesties last letter is required, and by yours written after that, except that point of the taking from him the title of the Earledome of Tyrone, for the which I thinke there be many reasons that it should not be much stood upon. Besides what I have written before of giving him contentment, which may bee applied to this, first, you doe but give him a title, which he did shake of, as a marke of his bondage, and that which he falles from, to accept this, he did asmuch preferre before this, as the estate of an absolute Prince before the condition of a subject, and it is the name of O Neale, with the which hee hath done so much mischief, that is fatall and odious, and not the name of Tyrone, which hee was faine to leave, before hee could have power to become a Rebbe; for

*Tyrone's
submission to
be made in
humble sort.*

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[II. iii. 277.]

believe mee out of my experience, the titles of our Honours doe rather weaken then strengthen them in this Countrie, and if you give him the same degree, but with another name, it may be thought a condition rather by him obtained, then by us imposed, especially if he enjoyeth his Countrie; and lastlie, if you make him onely Barron of Dungannon, you leave in him a spurre to discontentment, without any greater bridle from doing hurt, for his power will be never the lesse, and yet he that doth not sit easily, will ever thinke of another seate, and his owne title will the more runne in his minde, the more he is unsatisfied with this new. Notwithstanding al my opinions of these things, I will runne as neere as I can to the straightest line of her Majesties pleasure, and I presume I will so handle this matter, that I will be sure her Majesties Honour shall not be indangered, (I meane) by the authority shee hath given mee, which any man shall hardly take notice of, till I be assured upon what tearmes I shall find him; and if his requests be not as humble as becommeth him, or as by her Majesty is required, hee shall make little use of any negotiation that shall be with him. And so Sir, &c.

*The Earle of
Tyrone
received to
mercy.*

Touching the receiving of Tyrone to mercy, no man shall take from me the reputation (such as it is) to have beene the instrumentall cause of doing this honour to my deceased Sovereigne & my Nation, and of giving this disgracefull blow to the Arch-Traitor Tyrone, that he humbly submitted himselfe to Queene Elizabeth, finding mercy at her royall feet, whom he hath proudly offended, and whose sole power (in despite of his domesticall associates and forraigne support), had brought him on his knees, and that the victory was fully atchieved by the sole Sword of the English Nation and well affected English-Irish, whose blood he had spilt; and that so the Arch-Traitor lost the meanes longer to subsist in rebellion, by the advantage of Englands unsettled Estate, or at least the advantage and the vaine-glory to fasten merit on the sacred Majesty of King James, the said Queenes happy

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successour, by submitting to his royall mercy, and so hiding the extreme misery in which he was plunged, to have made this his action seeme altogether voluntary, and every way noble in him, to which he was forced by the highest constraint, and in the most base manner that can be imagined: Now as no man knoweth the circumstances of this action better then my selfe, so I will briefly and truely relate them. Queene Elizabeth had beene sicke for more then a moneths space, and of some apparant danger of her death, the Lord Deputy had beene advertised, and at this time shee was dead, (departing the foure and twentieth of March, the last day of the yeere past), though it were not knowne to the Lord Deputy till the seven and twentieth of March in the night, nor publikely, or to Tyrone himselfe, till the fifth of Aprill, after his humble submission made before the Lord Deputy to the Queene, as then living, though indeed shee were dead. This businesse passed in manner following. There was a gentleman among the voluntary followers of the Lord Deputy, who had long been earnestly ambitious of the honour of Knighthood, which by no endeavours of service, expence of money, or assistance of friends, he could hitherto attaine. Now a servant of his posting from London, and getting a happy passage at Sea, came upon the 27 of March (late in the night) to Mellifant, where the Lord Deputy then lay, and brought with him the first newes of the Queenes death, which when he had related to his Master, hee having been long pleased to take my advise in his affaires, advertised me of these newes, and brought his servant to confirme the same in my hearing. Whereupon I required his servant not to speake a word thereof to any man, threatning him with the Lord Deputies displeasure, and severe punishment, if any such rumour were spread by him. Then I was bold to give his Master confidence of receiving the honour he desired, if hee would follow my advise, which was this; that he should goe to the Lord Deputy, and tell him this report of the Queenes death, brought by his

*Queene
Elizabeth
dead.*

*The Lord
Deputy
told of the
Queenes
death.*

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servant, and the strict charge he had given unto him for the concealing thereof, till his Lordship should think fit to make it known, & withall to make tender of himselfe, and all his meanes, to follow his Lordships fortune in this doubtfull time (for such it was in expectation, though most happy in event.) The Gentleman did as I advised him, and for his particular, it tooke the same effect which I expected, as I will shew, when I have first set downe, how his Lordship hereupon proceeded with Tyrone.

The Lord Deputy being warranted by the Queenes letters above written, to receive Tirone to her Majesties mercy, had upon the five and twentieth of March sent Sir William Godolphin and Sir Garret Moore, to treat with him, for which they had a Commission in these words.

[II. iii. 278.] Mountjoy.

*The
Commission to
Sir William
Godolphin
and Sir
Garret
Moore.*

WHereas the Earle of Tyrone hath made humble suite unto us, that upon his penitent submission to her Majesties mercy, wee would be pleased to send some Gentlemen, to whom he might make knowne his humble petitions, and impart somewhat to them that doth much concerne her Majesties service: For the great trust wee repose in you, and the good opinion wee conceive of your discreet judgements, we have made choice of you to be employed herein, and doe by these presents give you both joyntly and severally our absolute warrant & authority, upon this occasion of her Majesties service, to parley and confer with him, or any of his adherents, or followers. Provided that of this your conference you shall with all convenient speed give us knowledge in all particulars, and of all his and your proceedings herein, to the end you may receive our further directions. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at Tredagh the foure and twenty of March, 1602.

To Our trusty and well beloved, Sir William Godolphin,
and Sir Garret More Knights.

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When I had written this Commission his Lordship commanded me to write this following protection.

Mountjoy.

WHereas upon the humble suite and submission of Hugh Earle of Tyrone, and his penitent contrition for his former offences, by many messages and letters signified unto Us, We have thought good to receive into her Majesties most gracious protection, his owne person, and such as shall come in his Company, with safety to him and them, and the rest of his followers whatsoever, (dwelling in the County of Tyrone, or now abiding with him,) aswell in their bodies as goods, for and during the space of three weekes, to the end hee might repaire unto us, to let us more fully understand his humble petitions. These are straightly to charge and command all and every her Majesties Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, to permit and suffer him and them peaceably to enjoy the benefit thereof, without any restraint, molestation, or hostile act, against him or his in their bodies or goods, during the time above limited. So as in the meane time hee and they continue of good and dutifull behaviour towards her Majesty, and this State. Given at Tredagh the foure and twentieth of March, 1602.

*The form of
protection for
Tyrone.*

To all Commanders of horse and foot, and to all other her Majesties Officers and Subjects to whom it may appertaine.

Likewise his Lordship commanded me to write severall letters to the Governours of Garrisons, requiring them to give Tyrone and his followers full benefit of this Protection. And these writings being all signed by the Lord Deputy, were delivered to Sir William Godolphin, with charge that when Tyrone was in his Company, and on the way to come to his Lordship, then (and not before) hee should deliver him the Protection, and likewise the letters, to bee sent to the severall Garrisons, by his owne messengers. These Commissioners, on the six and

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twentieth of March, sent one Bathe from Armagh to Tyrone, to prepare the way of their meeting. The seven and twentieth both the Commissioners came to Charlemont, where Sir William Godolphin staid for his troope of horse, but Sir Garret Moore rode that night to Tulloughoge, where he spake with Tyrone. The eight and twentieth Sir Garret Moore wrote to Sir William, that Tyrone was fully resolved to obey the Lord Deputies commandements, and would meet him the next morning at nine of the clocke, to ride forward in his company to the Lord Deputy. And Henry Hagan, who brought this letter, gave Sir William confident assurance of Tyrones performance.

[II. iii. 279.] The same eight & twentieth day, the L. Deputy being at Mellifant, and there having the foresaid notice of the Queenes death, and considering that this rumor was no good ground for a new treatie with Tyrone, yet breaking out, were it true or false, might cause new combustions in Ireland, most apt to relapse into new tumults (as appeared by the ensuing mutiny of the very Citties and corporate Townes), as also that if it were true, then he had no power from the succeeding King, to receive Tyrone to mercy, yea that in case it should proove false, then such treatie with the Arch-traytor in any other then Queene Elizabeths name, might prove very dangerous to him. For these reasons he resolved speedily to strike up the former treatie with Tyrone and so presently dispatched a horseman to Sir William Godolphin, to advertise him thereof, and to require him to hasten Tyrones comming, by remembrance to him that his former delays in Treaties had much incensed the Queene, and by threatning him, that if he made the least delay of his submission, his power to doe him good might be easily restrained, and then he should expect nothing from him but a sharpe prosecution to his utter ruine. Sir William having received these his Lordships, and Sir Garrets foresaid letters, thought it no time to stand nicely upon termes of equality, (which might

*Tyrones
comming to be
hastened.*

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argue his distrust of Tyrone, and awaken in him his old jealousies of our meaning to him), and therefore leaving order that his troope should follow him, did ride from Charlemont and met Tyrone on the nine and twentieth of March, at nine of the clocke in the morning at Toker, a place lying five miles beyond Dungannon, where shewing him the Lord Deputies protection, he most humbly and thankfully accepted thereof, and so committed himselfe to the Commissioners, to ride in their company to the Lord Deputy. By the way they delivered his Protection to his owne hands, and likewise the letters, which he was to send to the severall Governours by his owne messengers.

*Tyrone
commits
himself to the
Com-
missioners.*

On the thirtieth of March 1603. they came al together to Mellifant in the afternoon, where Tyrone being admitted to the Lord Deputies chamber, kneeled at the doore humbly on his knees for a long space, making his penitent submission to her Majesty, and after being requited to come neerer to the Lord Deputie, performed the same ceremony in all humblenesse, the space of one houre or there abouts. The next day hee also made a most humble submission in writing, signed with his owne hand, in manner and forme following (as appeares upon record.)

*Tyrone makes
submission.*

I Hugh Oneale, by the Queene of England, France, and Ireland, her most gracious favour created Earle of Tyrone, doe with all true and humble penitency prostrate my selfe at her royall feet, and absolutely submit my selfe unto her mercy, most sorrowfully imploring her gracious commiseration, and appealing onely to her Princely clemency, without presuming to justifie my unloyall proceedings against her sacred Majesty. Onely most sorrowfully and earnestly desiring, that it may please her Majesty rather in some measure to mittigate her just indignation against me, in that I doe religiously vow, that the first motives of my unnaturall rebellion, were neither practise, malice, nor ambition; but that I was induced first by feare of my life, (which I conceived was sought by my Enemies

*The forme
of it.*

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practise to stand upon my gard), and after most unhappily led, to make good that fault with more hainous offences, the which in themselves I doe acknowledge deserve no forgiveness, and that it is impossible for me, in respect of their greatnesse, in any proportion even with my life to make satisfaction; I doe most humbly desire her Majesty to pardon them, that as I have beene already a sufficient argument of her Royall power, having little left but my life to preserve it selfe, so that it may now please her Majesty, to make me an example of her Princely clemency, the chiefest ornament of her high dignity. And that I may be the better able hereafter with the uttermost service of my life to redeeme the foulness of my faults, I doe most humbly sue unto her Majesty, that shee will vouchsafe to restore me to my former dignity and living, in which estate of a subject I doe religiously vow to continue for ever hereafter loyall, in all true obedience to her royall person, crown, prerogative, and lawes, and to be in all things as farre and as dutifully conformable thereunto, as I or any other Nobleman of this Realme is bound by the duty of a subject to his Sovereaigne, or by the Lawes of this Realme, utterly renouncing and abjuring the name and title of O Neale, or any other authoritie or claime, which hath not beene granted or confirmed unto mee by her Majesty, and that otherwise by the Lawes of this Realme, I may not pretend just interest unto, and I doe religiously sweare to performe so much as is above mentioned, and the rest of these Articles, subscribed by my owne hand, as farre as shall any way lie in my power, and to deliver such pledges for the performance thereof, as shall be nominated unto me by the Lord Deputy.

[II. iii. 280.]

*Forraigne
power
renounced.*

I doe renounce and abjure all forraigne power whatsoever, and all kind of dependancy upon any other Potentate but her Majesty the Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and doe vow to serve her faithfully against any forraigne power invading her Kingdomes, and to discover truly any practises that I doe, or shall know against her

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roiall person or Crownes; and namely and especially, I doe abjure and renounce all manner of dependancy upon the King or Estate of Spaine, or treaty with him or any of his confederates, and shall be ready with the uttermost of my ability to serve her Majesty against him, or any of his forces or confederates.

I doe absolutely renounce all challenge or intermeddling with the Vriaghts, or fostering with them or other neighbour Lords, or Gentlemen out of my Countrey, or exacting any blacke rents of any Vriaghts (or bordering Lords.)

I doe resigne all claime and title to any lands, but such as shall be now granted unto me by her Majesties Letters Pattents. *Clai me and title to lands resigned.*

Lastly, as the onely being a Subject, doth include all the duties of a Subject, so will I be content to be informed, and advised by her Magistrates here, and will be conformable and assisting unto them, in any thing that may tend to the advancement of her service, and the peaceable government of this Kingdome, as namely for the abolishing of all barbarous customes, contrary to the lawes, being the seeds of all incivility, and for the cleering of difficult passages and places, which are the nurseries of rebellion, wherein I will employ the labours of the people of my Countrey in such sort and in such places, as I shall be directed by her Majesty, or the Lord Deputy and Counsell in her name, and will endeavour for my selfe and the people of my Countrey, to erect civill habitations, and such as shall bee of greater effect to preserve us against theeves, and any force but the power of the State, by the which we must rest assured to be preserved as long as we continue in our duties. *Difficult passages to be cleared.*

This submission was presented by the Earle of Tyrone kneeling on his knees, before the Lord Deputy and Counsell, and in the presence of a great assembly. At the same time the Earle promised to write unto the King of Spaine, for the recalling of his sonne from thence into Ireland, and to doe the same at such time, and in such

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*The Lord
Deputy prom-
ised her
Majesties
gratious
pardon.*

words, as the Lord Deputy should direct. Likewise he vowed to discover how farre he had proceeded with the King of Spaine, or any other forraigne or domesticall enemies, for past or future helpes and combinations. Then the Lord Deputy in the Queenes name, promised to the Earle for himselfe and his followers her Majesties gracious pardon, and to himselfe the restoring of his dignity of the Earledome of Tyrone, and of his bloud, and likewise new letters Pattents for all his lands, which in his former letters had been granted to him before his rebellion, excepting onely the Country possessed by Henrie Oge Oneale, and the Fues possessed by Turlogh Mac Henrie, to both which, at their submission the Lord Deputie had formerly promised, that they should hold the same immediately from the Queene, to which ende this exemption and reservation was now made of these Countries, and the disposing of them left to her Majesties power. And likewise excepting and reserving three hundred acres of land to bee laid to the Fort of Mountjoy, and three hundred more to the Fort of Charlemont, during her Majesties pleasure to hold any Garrisons in the said Forts. To these exemptions of Henrie Oge and Turlogh Mac Henrie, their Countries and themselves, from the Earles right or power, he gave his full consent, as likewise to the reservation of the lands laid to the said Forts. He promised to reduce his Countrie to pay her Majestie like composition, as Connaght now did, and for long time had paid, and to answere rising out of souldiers, and all charges for advancing her Majesties service.

The third of Aprill, the Lord Deputy, having the Earle of Tyrone in his companie rode to Tredagh, and from thence upon the fourth day to Dublyn.

[II. iii. 281.] The next day an English ship arrived in that Haven, in which came Sir Henrie Davers, who brought with him letters from the Lords in England, advertising the Queens death, and that James the first was proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the copy of

*King James
proclaimed.*

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which Proclamation they sent, to the end it should here be published in like sort.

Also in the same ship came one Master Liegh, kinsman to the Lord Deputy, who brought his Lordship a favourable letter from the King out of Scotland. This Master Liegh his Lordship presently graced with the honour of Knighthood.

*A favourable
letter from the
King.*

And concerning the gentleman formerly spoken of, whose servant brought the first newes of the Queenes death, I was not deceived in the honour I did ominate to him, (as I have formerly written), for after he had followed my advice, in the manner of his imparting that important newes to the Lord Deputy, his Lordship conceived so good an opinion of him, for his discretion, and for the particular affection hee had expressed towards him, by the tender of his service in following his fortune this doubtfull time, as his Lordship did not onely by the way from Melifant to Dublyn, extraordinarily grace him, and often call him (not without some admiration of the better sort of his traine) to ride by his side, talking familiarly with him, but now upon his arrivall to Dublyn, upon this occasion of honouring his cozen Leigh, did also knight him.

In the meane time according to the Lord Deputies commandement, the Counsellors of the State, the Noblemen, Knights, and chiefe Commanders of the Army, then being at Dublyn, assembled together in the Castle, to whom his Lordship made knowne the Queenes death, and the Kings Proclamation, which he first, then all in course signed, and presently taking Horse, with joyfull acclamations, published the same through the chiefe streets of Dublyn.

*The Queenes
death and
King's Pro-
clamation
made known.*

I cannot omit to mention, that the Earle of Tyrone, upon the first hearing the Lord Deputies relation of the Queenes death, could not containe himselfe from shedding of teares, in such quantity as it could not well be concealed, especially in him, upon whose face all mens eyes were cast: himselfe was content to insinuate, that a tender

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*Tyrone's
teares.*

sorrow for losse of his Soveraigne Mistresse, caused this passion in him; but every dull understanding might easily conceive, that thereby his heart might rather bee more eased of many and continuall jealousies and feares, which the guilt of his offences could not but daily present him, after the greatest security of pardon: And there needed no Oedipus to find out the true cause of his teares: for no doubt, the most humble submission he made to the Queene he had so highly and proudly offended, much eclipsed the vaine glory his actions might have carried, if he had held out till her death: besides that by his comming in, as it were between two raignes, he lost a faire advantage, for (by Englands Estate, for the present unsetled) to have subsisted longer in rebellion (if he had any such end) or at least an ample occasion of fastning great merit on the new King, if at first and with free will he had submitted to his mercy, which hee would have pretended to doe, onely of an honourable affection to his new Prince, and many would in all likelihood have beleevved so much, especially they to whom his present misery and ruined estate were not at all (or not fully) knowne.

*Tyrone's sub-
mission to the
King.*

The sixth of Aprill the Earle of Tyrone made a new submission to the King, in the same forme he had done to the Queene, the name onely changed. He also wrote this following letter to the King of Spaine.

*His letter to
the King of
Spaine.*

IT may please your most Excellent Majesty: Having since the first time that ever I received letters from your Highnesse Father, and your Majesty, or written letters unto you, performed to the uttermost of my power whatsoever I promised: insomuch as in the expectation of your assistance, since the repaire of O Donnell to your Majesty, I continued in action, untill all my neerest kinemen and followers having forsaken me, I was inforced (as my duty is) to submit my selfe to my Lord and Soveraigne, the beginning of this instant moneth of Aprill, in whose service and obedience I will continue

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during my life. Therefore, and for that growing old my selfe, I would gladly see my sonne setled in my life time, I have thought good (giving your Majesty all thanks for your Princely usage of my sonne Henry, during his being in Spaine) most humbly to desire you to send him unto mee; And for the povertie whereunto [II. iii. 282.] I was driven, I have in sundry letters, both in Irish and other languages, so signified the same, as it were inconvenient herein to make relation thereof: And so I most humbly take my leave. From Dublin, &c.

Your Highnesse poore friend that was,
Hugh Tyrone.

Together with the same he wrote another letter to his sonne Henry to hasten his comming from Spaine into Ireland, but without any effect. Lastly, the Lord Deputie renewed to the Earle of Tyrone his Majesties Protection for a longer time, till hee could sue out his Pardon, and sent him backe into his Countrey, to settle the same, and to keepe his friends and former confederates in better order, upon this change of the State.

Sir Henry Davers, who lately brought letters to the Lord Deputy from the Lords in England, returned backe with purpose to repaire presently unto the King, whereupon the Lord Deputy commended to his relation the following instructions: signed with his Lordships hand. Wherein you must note, that his Lordship omits the newes of the Queenes death, received by the servant of a Gentleman (as aforesaid), the same being onely a private intelligence, whereupon hee could not safely build his late proceedings, and that his Lordship onely insists upon letters from the State, which could onely give warrant to the same. The instructions are these.

*Sir Henry
Davers
instructions.*

You are to informe the Kings Majesty, that at your comming over hither, the fifth hereof, with the letters from the Lords in England, signifying the decease of my late Sovereigne Mistresse, you found with mee heere at Dublin the Earle of Tyrone, newly come in upon

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Protection, and by that meanes the Realme for the present generally quiet, all expecting that upon a conclusion with him (which then every one conceived to be likely, in as much as he put himself into my hand, which till that time he would never doe to any) the Countrey would in short time be thorowly settled, so that every one that found himselfe in danger, did presse me (in a manner hourelly) for his pardon, foreseeing that he that staid out longest, was sure to be made the example of the Justice of the State, where such as could soonest make their way, by assuring their future loyaltie and service, were hopefull to lay hold upon their Soveraignes mercy.

The proceedings with the Earle of Tyrone.

Now to the end you may acquaint his Majesty, how farre forth I have proceeded with the Earle of Tyrone and upon what warrant; you shall be heereby thus remembred. He had often made great meanes to be received to mercy, which as often I had denied him, prosecuting him to the uttermost of my ability, being ever confident in opinion, that until I had brought him very low, & driven him out of his own Countrey, (as I did the last Summer, and left Garrisons upon him, that tooke most of the Creaghts, and spoiled the rest of his goods,) hee would not bee made fit to crave mercy in that humble manner that was beseeming so great an offender. In December last, when I was at Galloway, he importuned me by many messages and letters, and by some that he trusted very well vowed much sincerity if hee might be hearkened unto there, and at that time hee sent me a submission, framed in as humble manner, as I could reasonably require: To that I sent him this answer, that I would recommend it to her Majesty, but untill I had further direction from her, I would still prosecute him as I did before, and get his head if I could, and that was all the comfort I gave him; yet ceased he not to continue a sutor with all the earnestnesse that hee could devise, hoping in the end to obtaine that hee desired. In the month of March, I received letters from her Majesty, of the sixteenth and seventeenth of February,

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whereby I was authorised to give him my word for his comming and going safe, and to pardon him, so as he would come personally where I should assigne him, to receive it, and yeeld to some other conditions, in the last of those two letters contained. And withall I was specially required, above all things to drive him to some issue presently, because her Majesty then conceived that contrariety of successes heere, or change of accidents in other parts, might turn very much to her disadvantage; for which she was still apt to beleieve that hee lay in wait, and would spin out all things further then were requisite, with delayes and shifts, if I should not abridge him. [II. iii. 283.] Shortly after the Earle renewing his former suit, with very great earnestnesse, and in most humble manner (as may appeare by his letter in March sent me to Tredagh, whether I was then drawne upon speciall occasion of service), I thought it fit to entertaine the offer of his submission, and to draw on the speedier conclusion of so important a busines, both for that the daily intelligence out of Spaine, threatned danger unto this Kingdom, and for that I had then received advertisement from the Counsell in England of her Majesties dangerous sicknesse, the least of which accidents might have revived his hopes, added new life unto his languishing partisans, and utterly changed the whole frame of my proceedings. To this end I signed his Protection for three weekes, with severall warrants to the bordering Garrisons of forbearance from doing any hostile act, either upon his person, and the persons of his followers, or upon their goods, during the terme aforesaid, appointing Sir Garret Moore (a Gentleman well deserving of the State, and out of ancient acquaintance with the Earle, much respected by him) to repaire unto him, and to give him knowledge, that if simply and plainely (according to the tennor of his humble requests) he were resolved (without any delay) to present his petitions unto me in his owne person, where I assigned his appearance, he should then receive a protection for

*The Earles
protection.*

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*The conditions
accepted.*

his safe comming and returne, with assurance for his people and goods during his absence, by the hands of Sir William Godolphin, whom I had purposely sent into those part with a sufficient guard, to attend his resolution, and to bring him safely unto me. These conditions (though at first seeming somewhat hard, as both tasting of too great an humblenes, and not utterly free from danger of his person, whose head was set to Sale, by a publike act, and private men not bound to take knowledge of the present proceedings), found easier acceptance then almost any man would have imagined, the Earle peremptorily commanding, that none of his, upon what pretence soever, should presume to dissuade him from obeying this summons, seeing no way of mediation was left unto him, save onely this, vowing in the presence of a great many, that although the Deputies heavy hand had almost brought him to the height of misery, yet should no mortall power have extorted from him a submission of this nature, but that out of long and earnest observation of his proceedings, he had found reason to hope, that when his Lordship should discover the unfained penitency of his heart, for his forepast misdeeds, with a firme resolution to redeeme his offences, by faithful serving her Majestie, and wel deserving of the State, during the whole remainder of his life, that he should then find from him as great commiseration of his present sufferings, and as charitable a repaire against the threatned ruines of his house, posterity, and poore distressed Country, as he had tasted bitternes in the whole course of his former prosecution. Thus perswaded, he left directions for settling his Country, the best he might on such a sudden, and with a guard of 50 horse under the leading of Sir William Godolphin, making great marches, untill he came unto me within three miles of Tredagh, fell there downe on his knees before a great assembly, confessing his unworthines, yet humbly craving her Majesties mercy, which as above all earthly things he protested to desire, so hee vowed with the uttermost of

*Tyrone at
Tredagh.*

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his power to deserve the same. It were too long to set downe all that passed in this first interview, he striving to expresse in all his speeches and gestures the lowest degree of humblenes, to me, that was to valew and to maintaine the greatnes of her State and place, whom he so highly had offended. The next morning I sent for him (the Treasurer at Warres being onely present with me), and made him see how well I understood his present condition, how unpossible it was for him to subsist, even in the poorest and most contemptible fashion of a Woodkerne, if her Majestie were but pleased to imploy the present instruments of his ruine. Finally, finding him most sensible, both of his estate, and the Queenes high favour in remitting his crime, I promised him her gracious pardon, on those conditions, mentioned in the memoriall sent by your hands. From thence he attended me to Tredagh, and so to Dublin the fourth of Aprill, where the next day I received letters from the Nobility in England, signifying the death of our late Sovereigne. Whereupon I called together the Counsell and such of the Nobilitie as were in Towne, and acquainting them [II. iii. 284.] with the contents thereof, I propounded also the present proclaiming of his Majestie, whereunto all most willingly agreed, and among them the Earle of Tyrone, and when they had set their hands to the Proclamation, all together did accompany me the Deputy to the publishing thereof in the City. Since that time I thought fit to dismisse the Earle of Tyrone into his owne Country, the better to retaine his people and partisans in good order, but first we tooke from him a new submission to his Majesty, signed by his hand, which now I send by you.

Also you shall informe his Majesty, that now there is no Rebell in Ireland, who hath not sued to be received to the Kings mercy, and that I think fit to yeeld the same to most of them, leaving only some few to be prosecuted to utter ruine, for an example and terror to other ill affected subjects, wherin I desire to know his Majesties pleasure.

*No Rebell in
Ireland.*

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*The Lord
Deputie
desires to be
discharged
of the
Governement.*

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Lastly, you are to present my humble sute unto his Majesty, to bee discharged of this Governement, or if it shal please his Majesty to employ me further herein, yet that he wil vouchsafe me leave to kisse his Royal hands, which I desire not only out of my particular affection to have the happines to see him, but also out of my desire to informe him thorowly of the present estate of this Kingdome, wherein I presume that I shall be able to doe his Majesty very good service. And if it shall not please his Majestie to resolve for the present on some other man, to undertake this Governement, but onely to leave the authoritie to some fit mans hand, during my absence, and if hee bee resolved to make choise among those that are here present, and therein shall require my opinion, you shall say, that although I will not presume to recommend any to his Majestie, yet I doe thinke Sir George Cary Treasurer at warres to be most fit for that place, who hath already been Lord Justice of this Kingdome, and howsoever he be no souldier, yet is well acquainted with the businesse of the warre, wherein he hath been ever very industrious to advance the service.

At the same time the Lord Deputy sent over Master Richard Cooke one of his Secretaries, to negotiate his affaires in Court. And because his Lordship desired to retaine the superintendency of this Governement, with title of Lord Lieutenant, and with two third parts of the Lord Deputies allowances, in regard no man was able to support the place of Lord Deputy with the other third part of that allowance, except he had other great Fees and place of commodity in this Kingdome, his Lordship nominated (as before) Sir George Cary to be most fit for that place, some other Counsellors being in this one point joyned with him, namely, to signe all such warrants as should be signed for the disbursing of the Treasure. The instructions given to Master Cooke were these.

*Master
Richard
Cooke's
instructions.*

To procure a new Pattent to the Lord Mountjoy with title of Lord Lieutenant, and with authority to leave Sir George Carey Treasurer at Warres to be Lord Deputy,

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and so his Lordship to come presently over. 2. To procure new Pattents for Wards, letting of the Kings lands, compounding the Kings debts, &c. (as before.) 3. To sollicite for victuall, munition and mony. 4. To move the change of the base coine now currant. 5. To advertise the newes from Spaine. 6. To sollicite the sending of new Seales, namely, the great Seale, Signets, Counsell seales, for the State, Mounster, and Connaght, for the Kings Bench, Common pleas, and Exchequer. 7. To procure authoritie to passe estates to the Irish Lords.

After King James his Proclamation at Dublin, the Lord Deputy sent like Proclamations to all Governours, Magistrates, and Officers of Provinces, Cities, and Countries to be in like sort published, (and with all made knowne to them severally his Majesties pleasure signified in his letters directed to the Lords in England) to continue all Governours, Magistrates, and Officers, and all his Majesties Ministers (aswell Martiall as Civill) of both the Kingdomes of England and Ireland, in as absolute authorities and jurisdictions of their places, as before the decease of the late Queene Elizabeth of famous memory they enjoyed and exercised the same, as also to continue and establish all the Lawes and Statutes of both Kingdomes in their former force and validity, till such time as his Majesty should please to take fuller knowledge, and resolve for the publike good of any alteration (not intended but upon some speciall and waighty causes), and should please to give notice of his pleasure. Further his Lordship advised them, to concurre with him in the vigilant care, to present all things in the best estate might be, to the first view of so worthy and mighty a Sovereigne. [II. iii. 285.]

The twelfth of Aprill the Lord Deputy received letters from Sir Charles Wilmott and Sir George Thorne-ton, (appointed Commissioners with joynt authority for governing the Province of Mounster, in the absence of Sir George Carew Lord President, late gone for England), advertising that they had blocked up Mac Morrish in

*King James
proclaimed
throughout
Ireland.*

*Mac Morrish
blocked up.*

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the Castle of Billingarry, belonging to the Lord Fitzmorrice, and hoped by the taking thereof, to cleere the Province of all open Rebels.

The fifteenth of Aprill his Lordship received a letter from Ororke, humbly imploring the Queenes mercy, and the same day after his hearing of the Queenes death, another in like humblenesse craving the Kings mercy.

*The Meeting
of the Cities in
Mounster
about
Religion.*

The sixteenth day his Lordship received letters from the Mayor of Corke, advertising that hee had received the Kings Proclamation the eleventh of Aprill, and had deferred the publishing thereof to this day, onely to the end it might be done with more solemnity, humbly praying, that in regard the Fort built for defence of the Harbour of Corke from forraigne invasion, was not kept by a Commander sufficient to secure the same for the Crowne, his Lordship would accept the offer of him the Mayor, and the rest of the corporation of the said City, to keepe the same for his Majesty at their owne perill. Lastly, complaining that the Souldiers now keeping the Fort, did shoote at the Fishermen, and at the Boates sent out of the Towne for provisions, using them at their pleasure.

Corke.

Waterford.

The same sixteenth day his Lordship was advertised by severall letters: First that the Citizens of Waterford had broken up the doores of the Hospitall, and had admitted one Doctor White to preach at Saint Patrickes Church, and had taken from the Sexton the keyes of the Cathedrall Church, of themselves mutinously setting up the publike celebration of the Masse, and doing many insolencies in that kind. Secondly that Edward Raghter a Dominican Frier of Kilkenny, assisted by some of the Towne, came to the Blacke-Fryers, used for a Session-House, and breaking the doores, pulled downe the benches and seates of Justice, building an Altar in the place of them, and commanded one Bishop, dwelling in part of the Abbey, to deliver him the keyes of his House, who was to take possession of the whole Abbey, in the name and right of the Friers his brethren.

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The eighteenth day his Lordship was advertised from the Commissioners of Mounster, that the Citizens of Corke had not onely refused to joine with them in publishing the Proclamation of King James, but had drawne themselves all into Armes, and kept strong guardes at their Ports, and had absolutely forbidden the Commissioners to publish the same, with such contemptuous words and actions, as would have raised a mutiny, if they had not used greater temper: That the Townesmen had made stay of boats loaded with the Kings victuals and munition for the Fort of Halebolin, saying that the Fort was built within their Franchizes without their consent, and was meetest to be in the custody of the City. Whereupon they the said Commissioners accompanied with the Lord Roche and some 800 persons of the Countrey, (all expressing much joy, but none of the Citizens assisting, or expressing any joy), did publish the Proclamation, upon an hill neere the Towne, with as much solemnity as might be, and had furnished the Fort with victuals and munition from Kinsale. And they besought his Lordship speedily to reestablish by new Letters Pattents the Magistrates authority, because the ceasing thereof by the Queenes death, had especially emboldened these Citizens to be thus insolent.

*The King's
Proclamation
published at
Corke.*

The same day one Edward Gough a Merchant of Dublyn, newly comming out of Spaine, and examined upon oath, said that at Cales he saw the Ordinance shipped to S. Lucas, for forty sayle (as he heard) there ready to goe for Lisbone, where was a fleete of 140 ships prepared (as some said) for Ireland, or (as others said) for Flanders; but hee heard no Generall named, onely heard that Don Jean de l' Agula, was againe received to the Kings favour. The 22 day his Lordship wrote to the Sovereigne of Kilkenny, that howsoever he had no purpose violently to reforme Religion in this Kingdome, but rather prayed for their better understanding, yet he could not permit, yea must severely punish in that Towne and other where, the seditious & mutinous setting up of the publike

*Ordinance
shipped to
S. Lucas for
Ireland.*

[II. iii. 286.]

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exercise of Popish Religion, without publike authority, and likewise with prejudice done to those of the profession established by God, and by the Lawes of both the Realmes, requiring that hee and they should desist from such mutinous disorders, apprehending the chiefe authors, and if they wanted power to suppress the sedition of a few Priests & Friars, his L^p offered to assist them with the Kings forces; for he would not faile to give life to the Lawes and obedience due to his Majesty.

Lymrick.

The foure & twentieth day, his Lordship was advertised that the Citizens of Lymrick had with their Priests entred into all the Churches of the City, and there erecting Altars, had used the Rites of the Romish Church.

The 25. day, his Lordship wrote this letter to the Citizens of Waterford.

*Letter to the
Citizens of
Waterford.*

YOUR letters of the three and twentieth of this instant came this day to my hands. And having duely considered the contents of the same, I find, that they returne a double excuse of the courses you have used: first, for your delay of time to proclaime the Kings most Excellent Majesty, according to such directions as was sent unto you, from the Earle of Ormond, by a Counsellor of this State. And the next, for such disorders as were reported to bee committed, by the publike breach of his Highnesse Lawes in matters of Religion: To the which We returne you this answer following. First, albeit We would have wished, that you had had a more carefull regard to have performed such directions as you received from so Noble a Peere of this Realme, by so reverent a messenger, as you might assure your selves in such a matter durst not abuse you, his Highnesse sole and undoubted right concurring also with your owne knowledge and consciences, yet We will not condemne you for that omission of the time, seeing afterwards you did obey our directions in that behalfe, and gave so publike a testimony of your joyful allowance and consent to his Majesties Right and lawfull title proclaimed

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amongst you. But as in this part you have given unto us a kinde of contentment, so in the last point, We cannot forbear to let you understand the just mislike We doe conceive, that you being Citizens of wisdome and good experience, and the Lawes of the Realme continuing in force, would be drawne either by your Priests, or any like practises, to commit any publike breach of the Lawes, and the rather because out of that unspotted duty, which you professe you have ever carried to the Crowne, you would not in reason conceive that the example of your offence in such a cause, and in so great and populous a City, could not but in it selfe be very dangerous, in these disordered times, wherein examples doe carry men astray, which in discharge of Our duty to the Kings Highnesse Wee may not suffer. And therefore have resolved to make Our speedy repaire unto those parts, for none other purpose but to establish his Majesties Lawes, that no publike nor contemptuous breach be made of them, wherein We wish you had bin more wary, contenting your selves with the long and favourable tolleration you enjoyed during the late Queens raigne, rather then in this sort to have prescribed Lawes to your selves; whereby in wisdome you may perceive how much you have prejudiced the very obtaining of your owne desire, by the courses you have taken, (as we are credibly informed). And yet because it may be, that the reports of your behaviour have beene made more hainous then there is cause, Wee are well pleased to suspend Our giving credit to such particular informations, untill upon due examination the truth may appeare, wherein We hope and shall be glad that you can acquit your selves so of these imputations now laid upon you, or otherwise that you conforme your selves now at last, in such sort to the obedience you owe to his Majesty, and his Lawes, as We be not inforced to take severe notice of your contrary actions.

The same day his Lordship was advertised from the Mayor of Galloway, that howsoever he found no seditious

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inclination in the Citizens; yet to prevent disorders in these mutinous times, the Governor of the Fort had given him some of his souldiers, to assist his authority, whom he to that purpose had placed in the strongest Castles of the City.

[II. iii. 287.] The same day his Lordship received letters from the Mayor of Corke, signifying that the thirteenth day of this moneth he had published in the City the Proclamation of the King, with the greatest solemnity he could, and complaining that the Souldiers in the Kings Fort offered many abuses to the Towne, with offer from the Corporation to undertake the safe keeping of that Fort for his Majesty.

*The simplicity
of the
Soveraigne of
Wexford.*

The 26 day his Lordship wrote to the Soveraigne of Wexford, that whereas they excused their erecting of popish rites, by the report they heard of his Majesties being a Roman Catholike, he could not but marvell at their simplicity, to be seduced by lying Priests to such an opinion, since it was apparant to the World, that his Majesty professed the true religion of the Gospell, and ever with carefull sincerity maintained it in his Kingdome of Scotland, charging him and those of Wexford upon their allegiance to his Majesty, to desist from the disordered course they had taken, in celebrating publikely the idolatrous Masse, least hee at his comming up into those parts, should have cause severely to punish their contempt, shewed to his Majesty and the lawes of his Kingdome.

*The Citizens
of Corke grow
more insolent.*

The same day his Lordship was advertised from the Commissioners of Mounster, that the Citizens of Corke grew daily more and more insolent, defacing places of scripture written on the wals of the Church, to the end they might wash and paint over the old Pictures, and that one tearmed a Legat from the Pope, with many Priests, had gone in solemne procession, hallowing the Church, and singing Masse therein publikely, the Townesmen having placed guards of armed men, set at the Church dore, and at the Porch, yea burying their dead with all

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Papistically Ceremonies, and taking the Sacrament in like sort to spend their lives and goods in defence of the Romish Religion, and thereupon taking boldnes to offer wrong to the English, and to practice the getting of the Kings Fort into their hands, yea refusing to sell any thing to the English for the new mixed money, and not suffering the Kings victuals to be issued out of the store, till they had assurance that the Souldiers should be sent out of the liberties of Corke.

The 27 day his Lordship wrote to the Sovereigne of Clommell, commending him and the rest of that City, that they had proclaimed the King with great joy and gladnesse, but charging them upon their uttermost perill, not to cease from the publike exercise of the Romish Religion, which they of themselves had mutinously established.

*The King
proclaimed at
Clommell.*

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Sovereigne of Kilkenny.

After my hearty commendations, I have received your Letters of the 25 and 26 of this moneth, and am glad to understand thereby, that you are somewhat conformable to my directions, being willing to have cause to interpret your actions to the best; but though I meane not to search into your consciences, yet I must needs take knowledge of the publike breach of his Majesties Lawes: and whereas you let me understand, that the Inhabitants are willing to withdraw themselves for their spirituall exercise to privacy, contented onely with the use of the ruinous Abbey, that being a publike place, I cannot but take notice thereof, and marvell how you dare presume to dispose at your pleasure of the Abbey, or any thing belonging to his Majesty, and therefore againe charge you upon your alleagiance, to forbear any publike exercise of that Religion, prohibited by the Lawes of this Realme, and fully to reforme these disorders, according to my directions, upon your extreame perill.

*Letter to the
Sovereigne of
Kilkenny.*

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Mayor of Corke.

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*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to the
Mayor of
Cork.*

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[II. iii. 288.]

After my very hearty commendations, I did first receive some mutual complaints & informations, from the commissioners of Mounster & you, wherof so far as they concerne your particulars I will take notice, & be glad to heare you both, or your Agents for you, & reforme what I shall find amisse in either, but of publike offences or errours, I must take publike knowledge. And first for the Proclamation of the King, wherein I am informed that you were not onely your selves slow and backward, but made resistance to those, who being Governours in that Province in our late Sovereignes time, and having our directions, were not like to abuse or deceive you, and offered with due forwardnes and obedience, after your unfitting and dangerous delaies, to have published the same, whereof I cannot but marvell, and thinke you much to be blamed in so undoubtfull a right, and with directions received from those in authority, to make such needlesse consultations, and much more to offer violent resistance to those, who better understood their duties, and were ever ready in so much loyalty to performe it: yet in regard of your solemne and joyfull publication thereof, I am willing to interpret your actions to the best, and take your good performance for an excuse: But I am further given to understand, that you have suffered the publike celebration of the Masse to be set up in your City, of your owne fancies, and without publike authority, both against the lawes of this Realme, and (I assure you) contrary to that Religion which his Majesty zealously professeth. Whereof I cannot but take publike notice, as you have publickely offended the King and his Lawes, and as I have done before, so againe I charge you upon your alleagiance, to desist from such seditious insolencies, and to apprehend the chiefe Authours thereof, which if you doe not presently obey, I shall be forced against my will to use his Majesties Sword and Power, to suppress the same. Further you have by your letters made suit unto me, to have the Kings Fort Halebolin committed to your custody, and I am

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informed that you have proceeded in that insolency, as to stay his Majesties Munitiō and victuals, and Artillery, which upon speciall trust of your loyalty was kept in your City, from being transported from thence to the reliefe of the Kings Fort. It may be you have rashly and unadvisedly done this, upon some opinion of the ceasing of authority in the publike government, upon the death of our late Sovereigne, (which is somewhat more, though no way in true and severe judgement excusable), and I thinke otherwise you would never have beene so foolish, to runne into so great danger, but since, as it hath pleased his Majesty to renewe and confirme unto me, by his royall letters and Letters Pattents under his Seale, the place of his Deputy in this Kingdome, and to signifie his gracious pleasure, to continue all other his Officers and Magistrates, aswell martiall as civill, in their former authority and jurisdictions, so by vertue thereof, and power given me from his Majesty, I have renewed the Lord Presidents Pattent, and granted a new commission to Sir Charles Wilmott and Sir George Thornton, with charge and authority to governe the Kings Forces, Forts, and places of strength, and to defend the Townes from forraigne invasions, and intestine mutinies or rebellions, and further to governe that Province according to his Majesties directions. In which command of theirs there is no derogation from your civill government and limited authority, if you rightly understand the one and the other: Therefore as you should at first have concurred with them, put in so great place of trust over you by your late Queene and Mistresse, especially in dangerous times of change, for the peaceable government of all under both your charges, that you might have deserved his Majesties gracious acceptance of your service, by presenting all things in the best state you could to his Highnesse first view, so now I require you upon your allegiance, to be assisting and obedient to them in all things touching his Majesties service, and not to presume to interrupt the conveyance of the Kings victuals,

*New
commission
granted to
Sir Charles
Wilmott and
Sir George
Thornton.*

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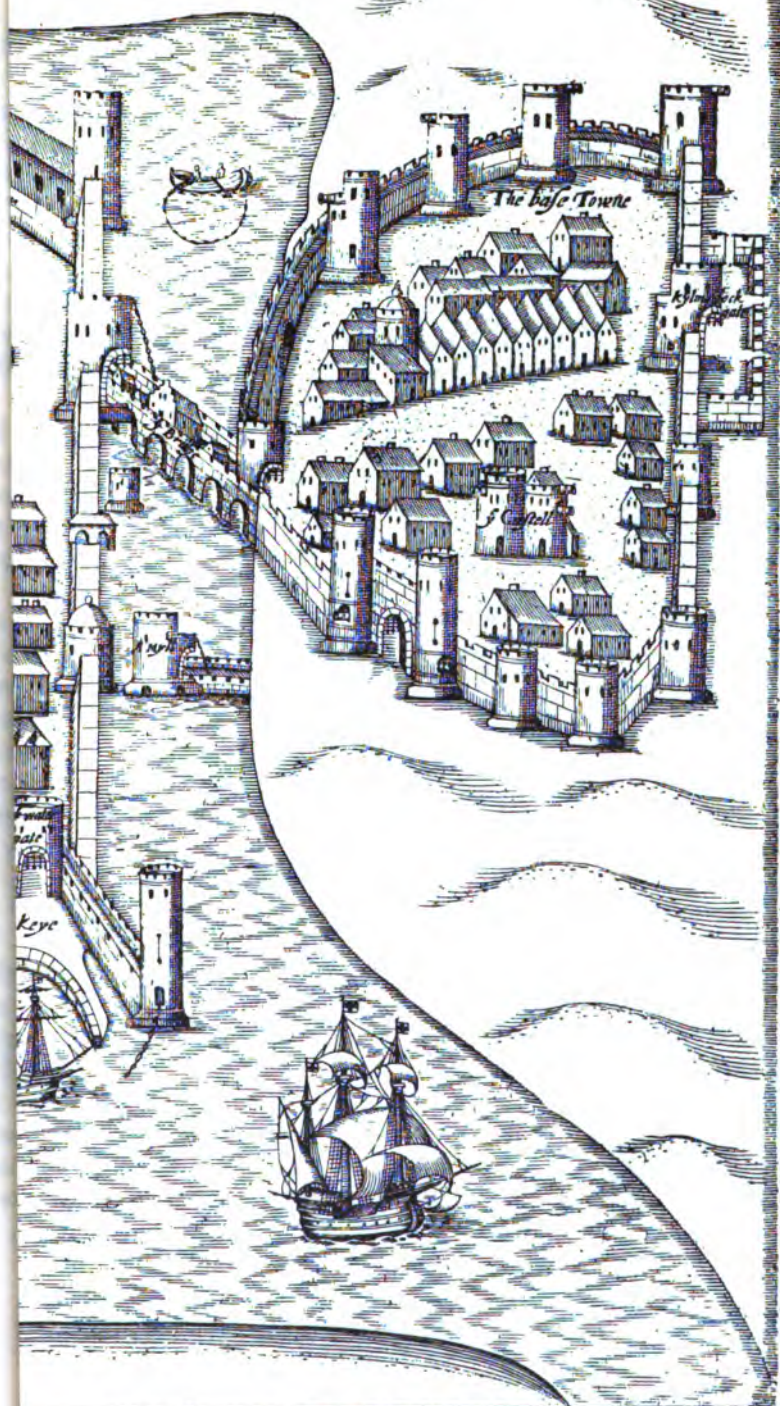
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munitiōn, or artillery, unto such places as shall be thought fit by them, for the furnishing of his Majesties Forts, or Forces, wheresoever they thinke convenient. This if you shall performe, I shall be glad to interpret your past actions to the best, finding your endeavours to redeeme what you have done amisse, and not bee forced against my will to take notice of the height of your offences or errorrs, and use his Majesties power to redresse them. I have since the writing hereof, seene a letter presented me by Master Meade, in deniall and excuse of these informations, and if I shall find you conformable and obedient to these my directions, I will be glad to have occasion to interpret all things past in the better part, and take as little notice as I can thereof. And so, &c.

The same day the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to the Mayor of Lymricke.

*The Lord
Deputy's
Letter to the
Mayor of
Lymricke.*
[II. iii. 289.]

AFTER my hearty commendations, I have not written unto you (that I remember) since I sent you directions for the Proclamation of the King, which because I understand you published according to your duety, with all due solemnity and signes of joy, and continued in duetifull sort, not being seduced unto disorders, as some of the Townes of that Province were, I thought rather to have cause to commend you, and give you encouragement in your loyall proceedings, then any way to blame you, but I have since beene enformed, that you have taken example of other Cities seduced by their Priests, and against his Majesties Lawes (and I assure you contrary to the religion he zealously professeth) upon your owne fancies without authority, set up the publike celebration of the Masse, whereof I cannot but take publike notice, as you have publikely offended the King and his lawes, and therefore I charge you upon your alleagiance, to desist from such seditious insolencies, and to apprehend the chiefe authours thereof, which if you doe not presently obey, I shall be forced against my will to take more severe notice thereof, then willingly I would. And so hoping





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that in a matter of so great consequence you will be better advised, I expect to have answer from you.

The eight and twentieth day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Commissioners of Mounster.

After my hearty commendations, I have already sent you your Commission renewed, for continuance of your authority, and signed the Kings Letters Pattents to the Lord President for his government, and as formerly I advised you, so againe I pray you, to transport as great a proportion of victuals and munition as you can out of the City of Corke, into the Fort of Halebolyn, and the Castle of Shandon, and if you may, by faire meanes, you shall doe well to endeavour to draw some Companies into the Towne, which if you cannot effect, yet I would have you not to slacke the carrying of victuals and munition. I have drawne together some 5000 men, and shall be able to employ them in reducing and setling the Townes of those parts, and if the Citizens of Corke, upon the renewing of your authority and my late directions, prove more conformable then they were, you shal doe well to governe all without violence, but if they continue obstinate in their former insolencies, I advise you to set guards upon the stores of victuals and munition, and to leave the Towne.

*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to the
Commissioners
of Mounster*

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to Sir Charles Wilmot, one of the said Commissioners.

SIR Charles, I have received your letter of the twentieth of Aprill, and am glad of the good successe you had in taking the Castles in Kerry, and for your men of Corke, I have heard of their insolencies, and I beleieve them, and for any thing I know, all the Townes in Mounster stand upon little better tearmes: Assoone as I could possibly, (for I had no Forces in all Lemster) I have gathered together 5000 men, and am comming towards you, and have so disposed of all things in the North, that if need be, I will draw the whole Army of Ireland ere it be long

*and to Sir
Charles
Wilmot.*

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*Waterford to
be the first
example.*

into Mounster, some few excepted to guard the garrisons : With Waterford I thinke to beginne, for they gave the first example, but it is true that if they hold against me, I am ill provided to force them, for at Dublyn wee are ill stored of all things, but we will doe aswell as we may. I doe like your course well to draw as many as you can to one head, and I thinke it fit, that it were about Corke : If your munition and victuals be in the power of the Towne, I know not what to say, but I have first written to the Towne, not to interrupt you in the disposing of the Kings munition and victuals, and upon my commandement if they denie it, it is treason, therefore I thinke they will be advised therein. If you may therefore, as suddenly as you can, convay as great a proportion of victuals, but especially and first of munition, out of the Towne, then I will command them to receive you (with such forces as you shall appoint) into the Towne, which if they denie, it is treason too: And if you have any store out of the Towne, and your Forces be gathered together, and they continue obstinate, it were good some little guard (though it were but seven or eight men) were put into the Castles, where the munition and victuals are, and for all the rest of the English to with-draw themselves out of the Towne by little and little, and then if they continue obstinate still, in not receiving the Kings Forces, my desire is that you shall presently invest the Towne, which I presume may bee done with some 1000 men, if you put two or 300 men into the Fort next to Kinsale gate, (which with so many men will be easily guardable), and with the rest of your foote intrench neere to the gate next toward Shandon, and with some 100 Horse beat the wayes. When you are in this forwardnesse, if you thinke this way feasible, I will send you, either more men (if with those you have you thinke not fit to engage the Cannon), or if I be loose my selfe from being ingaged in any other place, I will come to you ; but if Waterford hold out, I shall for the time have my hands full. Let me heare from you at large of all things,

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and in the meane time, it is fit you put the best Artillery you have into Halebolin Fort. I have sent this by one whom I thinke to be trusty, and I pray you to send him backe speedily to me, and to impart this project to as few as you thinke good. Write to me how Lymricke, and the other Cities doe stand. And so, &c.

The thirtieth day his Lordship received letters from the Mayor of Corcke and his brethren, signifying that the Commissioners had by directions charged them, to suffer his Majesties Ministers to passe through their ports with eight and forty barrels of powder, and leade and match proportionable, to be brought from his Majesties store in that City to the Fort of Halebolyn, and that in regard they wondered so great a proportion should be carried to the Fort, where no Artillery was yet planted, especially the quantities formerly issued being not yet spent, nor any service being in hand, they fearing the Commissioners purposed to assault the Towne, or at least to starve them, were enforced thereby to make stay of the said munition, till his Lord^{ps} pleasure were further known, renewing their suit, to have the custody of the Fort committed to the corporation. That they did all they could to cause the mixed money of the new standard to passe currant, but it was with such grieffe & losse to the poore town as they hoped his L^p would be a means to his Majesty for altering the same; That they had received rebuke from his Lordship, concerning certaine insolencies, but could not call to mind any particular wherein they had offended the State, except that be an offence, after many abuses and wrongs done them, to keepe watch and ward, to preserve themselves and keepe the City for the Kings Majesty, in those doubtfull times (as they tearmed them). That touching the point of Religion, they onely exercised now publicly that which ever before they had beene suffered to exercise privately, and as their publike praiers gave publike testimony of their faithfull hearts to the Kings Royall Majesty, so they were tied to bee no lesse carefull to manifest their

*Letters from
the Mayor
of Corcke.*

*The new
standard
money.*

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

duties to almighty God, in which they would never be dissembling temporisers.

Thus they foolishly rushed into apparant treason, by making stay of the Kings munitions, and presumed to excuse their mutinous and insolent establishing the publike exercise of the Romish Religion (and that upon their owne heads, without any direction, yea in opposition of publike authority.)

*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to the
Maier of
Waterford.*

The Lord Deputy now being ready to take his journey for Mounster, and purposing first to attempt Waterford, wrote to the Maier thereof the first of May to this effect. Because it seemes by your neglect of my directions, and your impertinent answeres, that you do not know, or have forgotten, both my authority and your selves, I thinke good to let you understand, that it hath pleased the most mighty Prince King James the first, Our Sovereigne, by his letters Pattents, under his Great Seale of England, to make me his Deputie and chiefe Governour under himselfe of this Kingdome, and further to command me, by his letters signed with his Royall hands, to cherish his good subjects, and to suppress the Rebellious, the which difference of good and rebellious, I am no otherwise to distinguish in you, but by that obedience which I have required, and doe now require of you to his Majesties Lawes and Royall pleasure. And as, in my duty to God and my King, I should rejoyce to finde you in the number of those that I am bound to cherish and preserve. So should I bee heartily sorry to finde you such, as I must bee forced to correct or to ruine. And although it be none of my purposes to enter into your consciences, yet if the effects of your consciences be, to disturbe the peace of this Kingdome, to violate the Lawes thereof, and by force to set up your owne Religion; It is my duty to use the Kings power to suppress such insolencies, and therefore my purpose is to reaire my selfe to the Kings Citie, whereof you are one of his Magistrates, to see his peace and obedience maintained, the which if both I and you, and that Corporation doe not (as our duty is)

[II. iii. 291.]

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intend, we have a King, that is not onely able to call us his poore servants to an account, but to revenge the wrongs of the greatest Monarch of the World.

The same day his Lordship writ to the Maior of Corke, this following letter.

AFter my heartie commendations. I have received two letters from you, the one not signed with any hand, the other signed by you the Maior and two of your Brethren; and for the first, concerning the stay you have made of the Kings munition and Victuals, I marvell greatly at your presumption, to limit and take account what proportions the Commissioners authorised by his Majesty thinke good to issue, for his service, and wish you in matters of so great consequence to be well advised, not doing any thing rashly, nor consulting or deliberating after your fancies of things not belonging any way to your consideration, but submitting your owne judgements to be ruled by those placed in authoritie over you, I meane Sir Charles Wilmot, and Sir George Thornewton, whose Commissions to governe that Province I have lately by order from his Majestie renewed. For the answere of your second letter, I referre my selfe to those I sent you by Master Mead, which I thinke ere this time are come to your hands, and as by them you shall more particularly perceive, so I assure you, that I expect better satisfaction from you, for the late insolent disorders committed or permitted by you in that Citie, then by these I have received, charging you againe (as formerly) to desist from the violating of his Majesties Lawes, by publike celebration of the Masse, set up of your owne fancies, without superiour authoritie. In which, if I finde you not conformable and obedient to my directions, I must conceive of your loyaltie and affection to his Majesties service, as I find by the effects testified in your publike actions, and bee forced to take more severe notice thereof, then I willingly would, in regard of the good opinion I have heretofore had of your proceedings. And for that

*The Lord
Deputy's
letter to the
Maior of
Corke.*

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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

point in your last letter, touching the Fort of Halebolin, whereof you desire to have the keeping to the Kings use, I will deale plainely with you, that since I find you so little able to governe the inhabitants of your Towne in due obedience to his Majestie and his Lawes, and so easily seduced by your Priests and Friers, to the prejudice thereof, and the hazard of your selves, and have alwaies found by experience the true integritie and forward resolution of the Kings souldiers to advance his service: till I shall see a better reformation of these your proceedings, I must needes thinke them fitter then you to have places of so great trust committed to their guard and custodie.

*Acts of
hostilitie
betweene the
Kings forces
and the men
of Corke.*

The same day his Lordship understood by letters from the Maior of Corke, that the Kings forces, lying neere the Towne, and their armed men of the Citie, had proceeded to acts of hostilitie, some having beene killed on both sides, whereof they craved reliefe from his Lordship, making their contumacy against the Commissioners authoritie, a private quarrell to the person of one of them, as being their enemy, and seeking their utter ruine. Likewise the Bishop of Corke advertised, that a most seditious sermon was preached at Corke by a Popish Priest, teaching that he could not be a lawfull King, who was not placed by the Pope, and sworne to maintaine the Roman Religion. Also that one of his men, going to the Port of the Towne, was hurt by one of the guard, who wished he had the Traytor his Master there, with threats of death to him. Lastly, that the Citizens, by resolution taken in a publike Counsell with their Priests, had written to all the Townes and Cities, to assist them in the defence of the Catholike faith, and had not onely staid the Kings munition, but laid it up in their owne store-houses, and imprisoned the Clarke who kept it.

The third of May his Lordship being on the way towards Mounster was advertised from Justice Synot, that the Citizens of Wexford had conformed themselves to his Lordships pleasure, & had redelivered the Churches

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to the hands of the English Ministers. The fourth of May, his Lordship incamped at Gracedea, neere the Citie of Waterford, and summoned the Maior and his brethren to open their Ports, and to receive him and the Kings Forces.

[II. iii. 292.]
*The Lord
Deputy
summons
Waterford.*

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Maior of Corke. For the dispatch of your messenger, and not to omit any thing that lieth in mee to make you understand your dutifull obedience to his Majesty, and the great errors and insolent demeanor you have of selfe will or malice entred into; I am content to write unto you, tho I know not well in what sort to write, for by your courses I cannot take you for subjects, and out of my desire to interpret your actions to the best, I could wish not to have cause to repute you Rebels. To deale plainely with you, for any thing that you selves informe, or I can otherwise understand, I see not that Sir Charles Willmot hath done but as in his duty hee was tied to doe, but I am presently drawing downe to the City of Corke, and having reserved one eare for any your just complaints, will judge of your proceedings as I shall finde them. I have let you understand my pleasure by my letters, (one sent by Master Meade, which if hee have not delivered he is more to blame), and I assure my selfe some of them came to your hands, and in all I have charged you upon your alleagance (as againe by these I do) to desist from publike breach of his Majesties Lawes, in the celebration of the Masse, prohibited by the same, and to yeeld due obedience to his Magistrates, and especially upon your extreamest perils, not to presume to make any stay of his Majesties victualls and munition, left (upon speciall trust on your fidelity) within the walles of that City, but to suffer it by his Majesties Commissioners of that Province, to bee issued to the Forts, or where they shall thinke meet for the present service. I shall be glad to finde that you conforme your selves to due obedience in all these, and other duties of good subjects; if other-

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wise you obstinately persist in the contrary, I must needs hold you for enemies to the King and the Peace of these his Realmes, and as such thinke you fit to be prosecuted by the revenging sword of these and other his Majesties Forces. From the Campe at Gracedea, neere Waterford, the fourth of May, 1603.

*Sir Neale
Garves
disloyalties.*

The fifth of May his Lordship was advertised, that the Governour of Loughfoyle, upon Sir Neale Garves late insolencies and disloyall practises, had by force taken from him, his Cowes, Horses, and all his substance, and that he himselfe had given pledges to come to his Lordship. The disloyalties proved against him were these. That he obstinately carried himselfe in all things concerning the service. That he forbad his people to yeeld any reliefe to the English Garrisons. That he restrained his men from building or plowing, that they might assist him to doe any mischief. That he threatned to set fier on the Liffer. That he refused to admit any Shiriffe in his Countrey. That he had long beene upon a word with the Rebels. That he swore he would goe into Rebellion, rather then any English man should enjoy a foot of Church land in his Countrey, which notwithstanding was reserved in his Pattent. That he had created himself O Donnel, & that he had murdered an honest subject, who would not follow him in those courses, with many like insolencies. And hereby the Lord Deputy and State were set at libertie for the promise of Tirconnell made unto him. So as his Lordship had now good occasion to give Rowry O Donnell contentment. To which end some good portions of land, being assigned to Sir Neale Garve, his L^p procured the rest of the late O Donnells Countrey, to be given his brother Rowry, whom afterwards in England he procured to be created Earle of Tyrconnell, thereby extinguishing the name of O Donnell.

The Citizens of Waterford, at first refused to receive any Forces into the Towne, but onely his Lordship and his retinue, yet the chiefe of them attended his Lordship in the Campe, and for their proceedings in the points of

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*Doctor White
a Jesuite.*

Religion, his Lordship requiring them to bring unto him one Doctor White a Jesuite, the chiefe seducer of them by seditious Sermons, they were ready upon safe conduct or protection to bring him to his Lordships presence which being granted them by word of mouth, the said Doctor White, accompanied by a young Dominican Frier, came into the Campe, but when they foolishly carried a Crucifix, openly shewing the same, the soldiers were hardly kept from offering them violence; and when they put up the Crucifix in their pockets, yet could hardly indure the sight of their habits, which each wore according to his order, Doctor White wearing a blacke gowne and cornerd cap, and the Frier wearing a white wollen frock. White being come into his Lordships Tent, was bold to maintaine erroneous and dangerous positions for maintenance of that which the Citizens had done, in the reforming of Religion without publike authority, all which his Lordship did (as no Lay man I thinke could better doe) most learnedly confute. And when White cited a place in Saint Austin for his prooffe, his Lordship having the booke in his Tent, shewed all the company, that hee had falsely cited that Father; for howsoever his very words were found there, yet they were set downe by way of an assertion which Saint Austin confuted in the discourse following. At this surprisall, White was somewhat out of countenance, and the Citizens ashamed. But in conclusion, when those of the Towne alleaged King John his Charter for priviledge why they should not receive the Kings forces into the Towne, his Lordship replied, that no King could give that priviledge to his subjects, whereby his Successours should bee prejudiced in the due obedience they were to expect from them, and in a word, told them, that if they did not presently open their Ports to him and the forces with him, he would cut King Johns Charter in pieces with King James his sword, and if he entered the Towne by force, would ruine it, and strew salt upon the ruines.

[II. iii. 293.]

*White's
boldnesse
before His
Lordship.*

Whereupon they better considering of the businesse,

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*Publike
exercise of
Romish
Religion
suppressed.*

received his Lordship and the forces into the Towne, and the souldiers were so well disciplined, that howsoever they were not a little grieved by this yeelding to have the hope of rich pillage taken from them, yet no wrong worth the speaking of was done to any one in the Towne. His Lordship here suppressed all publike exercise of Romish Religion, and restored the Churches to the English Ministers, and tooke from the chiefe Citizens an oath of Alleageance to his Majesty, with an abjuration of all dependancy on any forraigne Potentate (having held the like course of reformation in his passage hither through Kilkenny, the Citizens wherof had in like sort offended), but his Lordship forbare any way to censure their past sedition, leaving them to the Kings mercy for Charter, life and goods, if thereby they had indangered them. Onely his Lordship left one thousand men in Garrison at Waterford, and made choise of a place of advantage, where they should lye, till such time as a Fort might there be built to command the Towne, and bridle it from running into like insolencies hereafter. And because the North being now quieted, there was no further use of any Garrison in Lecayle, his Lordship appointed Sir Richard Morryson (formerly Governour of Lecayle) to command this Garrison left at Waterford, and to governe the County of Wexford.

*Heads of
examination
of Waterford
men.*

Certaine heads whereupon some Waterford men were examined a part one from the other, and in a carelesse manner, yet so as the answeres were written out of sight.

1. What preparations were devised to rescue Waterford, if the Army had laied siege thereunto.
2. Who were the instruments that were appointed, and were assembling them.
3. Who were their leaders both in Towne and Countrie, and when and where they should meete.
4. Whether any thing were published in writing, and set upon the Church doores and other places, to seduce

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the people, and what the effect thereof was, or by whom it was set up, or whether it was set up in Clomell onely, or in more places.

5. Whether any of them did know Sir Mahowne O Dullany Priest, to come to Clomell the fifth of this moneth, reporting that Sir Donnell O Carroll had fiteene hundred men ready to the rescue of Waterford.

6. Whether any of them knew Humfery Arthur of Lymrick, or any other messengers from thence, to come to Clomell, to report that five thousand were in readinesse to the rescue of Waterford also, or whether he be still at Clomell yea or no. [II. iii. 294.]

7. Whether they knew which quarter of the Countrie was appointed for Father Mulrony to take the charge thereof, to be assembled to the rescue of Waterford.

8. Whether they knew Father Leinaghs haunt, likewise so of Father Ractor, and the rest, whose names they are not to seeke of themselves.

9. Whether they have or can tell certainlie, that any intended yet to draw these Rescues to Corke, or any other head, to prevent the Army.

10. Whether themselves are sworne to live and die in the quarrell, or what Noble men or Lawyers are sworne also.

11. Whether they be able themselves to deliver any of these seducers to the Lord Deputy, yea or no, by what reason they should not (if they denie it) being conversant with them daily.

12. Whether they knew any messengers gone for Spaine or else-where, to procure helpe to those confederates, who are gone, when they went, and what they bee, or from whence, and what was their message, or how charges were collected for them.

From Waterford his Lordship by small journies (in regard of the impediments by the slacknesse and failing of supplies of Garrons and Beeves from the Countrey) marched to the Citie of Corke, and comming thither upon the tenth of May, was without any contradiction

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received into the Towne, with all the forces he brought with him, though Sir Charles Willmott had invested the Towne, and at the same time (with the forces of the Mounster List) lay before it.

*The Lord
Deputy
receives the
townes men of
Corke.*

The eleventh day his Lordship, to make it apparant to them and all the World, how willing he was to give them gentle audience in their just complaints, first admitted them to speake what they could of any offence they had received, or justly suspected, before they were called in any question for their owne disorders. But their accusations for the most part were such, as if they had been proved (which was not done, the prooffe as lesse important being deferred to a more convenient time) yet imported rather imputation of want of discretion in rash speeches, then any just pretext for their proceeding, and therefore were laied a part, as impertinent to the maine cause then to be handled. And for the rest of their more selected accusations, they were judged to have in them no important excuse for their seditious carriage, but were such for the greater part, as his Lordship was forced to justifie without calling the adverse partie to his answer, as being done either by his Lordships directions, or out of dutie imposed upon the Commissioners of this Province by vertue of the place of authority committed to their charge. Thus the Townesmen laboured to divert their publike offences by a colourable excuse of privat spleene, and some grudges against one of the Commissioners.

*The Earle of
Ormond.*

And in regard the Earle of Ormond came that night to Corke, the Lord Deputy (being desirous not onely to have his Lordship, but as many of the Nobilitie, and men of the best ranke as he could, to be witnesses of their hainous offences, and of the milde proceedings against them) did deferre till next day, the receiving of the Townesmens answeres in justification of their owne actions. At which time many breaches of his Majesties Lawes and their duties were objected against them. First, in the publike erection of the Romish Religion

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*The breaches
of his
Majesties
lawes.*

against the Lawes, and the abolishing that profession which was allowed by the same. Secondly, in their maintaining these actions by force and armed men. Thirdly, in their attempt to demolish the Kings Fort at the South Gate of the City. Fourthly, in staying the issue of the Kings munition and victuals, with the seazing of them into their owne hands, and the imprisoning of the Kings Officers and Ministers, to whose charge they were committed. Lastly, in bearing Armes, and doing all actes of Hostilitie against his Majesties forces, wherein their insolent proceedings were so farre followed, as they had killed a grave and learned Preacher walking upon the Hilles adjoyning to their walles, and had battered Shandon Castle, wherein lay the Lady Carew (wife to the Lord President then absent in England.)

[II. iii. 295.]

After due examination taken of all these points, his Lord^p resolved, as he had formerly done at Waterford, to leave the censure to his Majesties pleasure, that hee upon view thereof, might use his Royall mercy or justice, in remitting or punishing and reforming the same. Onely his Lordship tooke notice of some few of the principall offenders and ringleaders, whose offences were apparant, and severed from the common action, and them his Lordship commanded to be hanged, for example and terror to others. Some his Lordship left in prison to be tried by course of Law, as Master Meade the Recorder, who was a most principall offender: but hee might as well have forgiven him; for no man that knew Ireland did imagine, that an Irish Jurie would condemne him. The chiefe Citizens of Corke tooke the above mentioned oath of Alleageance to his Majesty, abjuring all dependancy upon any forraigne Potentate.

*Master
Meade the
Recorder a
most principall
offender.*

From Corke his L^p wrote to the Earle of Tyrone, to meete him at Dublyn, in readinesse to beare him company into England. This done, his Lordship left a strong garrison of souldiers in the Towne of Corke, and so upon the fifteenth of May marched towards Lymrick, and the Citizens thereof having proceeded to no further

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disorder, then the publike celebration of Masse, were soone reduced to order, and willingly tooke the oath of allegiance, with abjuration of dependancy upon any forraigne Potentate, as the other Cities had done.

*Letters from
the Earle of
Tyrone.*

The sixteenth of May his Lordship received letters from the Earle of Tyrone, whereby he gave him many thankses, that he had procured out of England authoritie to proceede with him according to the instructions he had formerly from the late Queene, promising to bee readie at Dublyn to attend his Lordship into England, and touching a complaint of Shane O Neales sonnes, for some cowes his men had taken from them, promising to make restitution. And because he thought many complaints would be made against his people, by reason of their poverty, he besought his Lordship not to give credit to them, till he might repaire to his Lordship to satisfie him, protesting that he would be ready at all times to come unto his Lordship, and to doe all duties of a faithfull subject.

*A goldsmith
bound by a
Priest at
Cashel.*

The Lord Deputy having given order to fortifie the Castle of Lymrick, and having from thence written to the Maior of Corke to assist the Commissioners in building the Fort at their South Gate, tooke his journey towards Dublyn the nineteenth of May, and came to Cashell the twentieth of May, where he reformed the Towne, as hee had done the rest, and tooke the like oth of Alleageance from the Townesmen. There he understood, that a Priest commanding all the people, had tied a Goldsmith of our Religion to a tree, threatning to burne him and his hereticall bookes, at which time he burnt some of our bookes, which he so termed, but that upon a Townesmans admonition, the Priest set the said Goldsmith free, after he had stood so bound to a tree some six houres before all the people of the Towne, in continuall feare to be burned.

The Lord Deputy having quietly settled all the Townes and Cities in Mounster, returned to Dublyn, and because upon the first settling of peace, many

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petitions were exhibited against the late Rebels for restitution of goods, which they had taken in time of rebellion, and were not now able to restore, so as the exacting thereof, was like to produce new troubles, rather then any satisfaction to the plaintiffes, an authentically act of oblivion for all like grievances was published, and sent to the Governours in all parts of the Kingdome.

In this late Mounster Journey, his Lordship received letters from the King, whereby he was chosen to be one of his Majesties Privie Counsell in England, and being made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with two third parts of the Deputies allowance assigned to him, was licensed to come over into England, and had authoritie to leave Sir George Carey the Kings Deputy during his Lordships absence, having the other third part of the Deputies allowance, and his owne entertainment as Treasurer at Warres for his support.

Sir George Carey left L. Deputy by the Lord Mountjoy, L. Lieutenant returning into England.

And Captaine Floyd lying now in the Harbour with the Kings Pinace called the Tramontana, ready to transport him, his Lordship with the Earle of Tyrone in his company, together with his household servants, and some Knights and Gentlemen his followers, tooke ship in the afternoone, and the next morning early we discovered the desired land of England, the weather being very faire: but within one hower the skie being over-cast with a thicke fog, and we bearing all sayles, we fell suddenly upon the Skerryes an hideous great blacke Rocke, where after so many dangers escaped in the warres, it pleased God miraculously to deliver us from being cast away (as it were) in the very Haven. For certaine birds called Guls, seeing our ship ready to rush upon them, and their desert habitation with full sayles, rose crying and fluttering round about us, whereat the Governours of the Pinace being amazed, looked out, and beholding that terrible spectacle, cried to the Steareman aloofe for life, which fearefull voice might have danted him, as it did most in the ship; but he stoutly did his worke, answering helme aboard, which done, the

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A miraculous deliverance.

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ship by force of the sterne, and by the help of the tide comming in between it and the Rocke, turned about with strange swiftnesse, and swumme along by the Rocke, so neere to it, as the Boate hanging at the sterne, dashed against it. Neither were the most expert men in the ship for a long time free of this feare, knowing that such great Rockes have usually small pinacles adjoining to them, the least whereof had beene as dangerous to us as the maine Rocke: but the ship (by Gods mercifull providence) passing on safely, that day by noone we came into the Bay of Beaumarris, and were set on shore by the boate.

*The Earle of
Tyrone
reviled in
England.*

The Earle of Tyrone rode from thence to London in the Lord Mountjoy his company, and howsoever his Lordships happy victory against this Traitor, made him gracious in the eyes of the people, yet no respect to him could containe many Weomen in those parts, who had lost Husbands and Children in the Irish warres, from flinging durt and stones at the Earle as he passed, and from reviling him with bitter words: yea, when the Earle had beene at Court, and there obtaining his Majesties direction for his pardon and performance of all conditions promised him by the Lord Mountjoy, was about September to returne, hee durst not passe by those parts, without direction to the Shiriffes, to convay him with troopes of Horse from place to place, till hee were safely imbarked and put to the Sea for Ireland.

*The Lord
Mountjoy's
Rewards.*

The Lord Mountjoy comming to Court was honoured of all men, and graciously received of the King, being presently sworne one of his Majesties privy Counsell. And for further reward of his services shortly after the King made him Master of the Ordinance, gave him two hundred pound yeerely old Rent of Assise out of the Exchequer, and as much more out of the Dutchy, to him and his heires for ever, besides the Countrey of Lecale in Ireland, together with other lands in the Pale there, which after the decease of the Lady Mabell Countesse of Kildare were to fall to the Crowne for want of heires

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males of her body. He had the full superintendency over all Irish affaires, no dispatches passing to and from the Lord Deputy, but through his hands as Lord Lieuutenant. And his Majestie likewise created him Earle of Devonshire, which dignity was to discend to the heires of his body lawfully begotten. But it died with him, and he enjoyed the rest of this worldly happinesse but few yeeres. For he was surprised with a burning Fever, whereof the first fit being very violent, he called to him his most familiar friends, and telling them that he had ever by experience, and by presaging minde beene taught, to repute a burning Fever his fatall enemy, desired them (upon instructions then given them) to make his Will, and then he said; Let death looke never so ugly, he would meet him smiling, which he nobly performed, for I never saw a brave spirit part more mildely from the old mansion, then his did, departing most peaceably after nine daies sicknesse, upon the third of Aprill, in the beginning of the yeere 1606.

*The death of
the Lord
Mountjoy
created Earle
of Devonshire.*

This most worthy Lord, cured Ireland from the most desperate estate in which it ever had beene, and brought it to the most absolute subjection in which it had ever beene since the first Conquest thereof by our Nation. Yet hee left this great worke unperfect, and subject to relapse, except his successours should finish the building, whose foundation he had laied, and should pollish the stones which he had onely rough hewed. And because hee knew this relapse would be most dangerous, having observed every rebellion in Ireland to bee more dangerous then the former, and that none could be more dangerous then this last, without the losse of the Kingdome, therefore he was most carefull to prevent all future mischiefes. To which end, whatsoever effects his designes had, sure I am, that he did meditate these wholesome projects: First to establish Garrisons in the Cities of Mounster, and in the renewing of their forfeited Charters, to cut of many exorbitant priviledges granted to their first English Progenitors, from whom they were so degener-

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*The Lord
Mountjoy's
great worke
in Ireland.*

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ated, as the very speaking of English, was by them forbidden to their wives and children. Then by the exchanging of lands, and by the disposing of the new grants of lands to be made to the Irish, to draw them all to inhabit the inland Country, and to plant the English upon the havens, Sea-Coasts, and Rivers. Lastly, because he knew all endeavours would be in vaine, if Civill Magistrates should thinke by faire meanes without the sword to reduce the Irish to due obedience (they having been conquered by the sword, and that maxime being infallible, that all Kingdomes must be preserved by the same meanes by which they were first gained, especially with the Irish by their nature pliable to a hard hand, and jadish when upon the least pricking of provender the bridle is let loose unto them,) therfore his L^o purposed to perswade, that the Army should stand in some convenient strength, till the Kings revenues were increased, and established (so as Ireland might be a nursery to maintaine some convenient number of old Souldiers, without any charge to England), and till the reformation of Religion and due obedience to the Magistrate were at least in some good measure settled in Ireland, and especially in the foresaid Cities.

*An infallible
maxime.*

*A Lyst of the
Army at
Lord
Mountjoyes
returne for
England.*

A Lyst of the Army, as it was disposed at the Lord Mountjoyes returne for England, about the eight and twentieth of May, in the beginning of the yeere 1603.

Horse in Lemster.

The Lord Lieutenant, 100. Master Marshall, 50. Sir Henrie Harrington, 25. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir William Godolphin, 50. Sir Richard Greame, 50. Sir Garret Moore, 25. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine Flemming, 25.

Horse in Mounster.

The Lord President, 100. The Earle of Thomond, 50. Captaine Taffe, 50.

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*The Lyst of
the army at
Lord
Mountjoyes
returne for
England.*

Horse in Connaght.

Sir Oliver Lambert Governour, 25. The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. Sir Oliver S. Johns, 25. Captaine Wayman Provost Marshall, 12.

Horse in Ulster.

Sir Arthur Chichester Governour of Carickfergus, 25. Sir Henry Dockwra, Governor of Longfoyle, 100. Sir Richard Trever at the Newry, 50. Sir Henry Folliot at Ballishannon, 50. Captaine John Jephson, 100. Totall of Horse, 1000.

Foote in Lemster.

The Lord Lieutenant, 200. The Earle of Ormond, 150. Master Marshall, 150. Sir Hen. Power, 150. Sir W. Fortescue, 150. Sir Geo. Bourcher, 100. Sir Fra. Rush, 150. Capt. Coach, 150. Capt. Lau. Esmond, 150. In all 1350.

Foote in Mounster, first at Waterford.

Sir Ric. Moryson Governour of Waterford, and the County of Wexford, having his owne Company yet in Lecale. Sir Fran. Stafford, 200. Sir Ben. Berry, 150. Capt. Josias Bodley, 150. Cap. Ellis Jones, 150. Capt. Hen. Bartley, 150. Capt. Ed. Fisher, 150. Captaine Legg, 100. Capt. Ralph Constable, 100. Totall 1100.

Foote at Corke.

The L. President, 200. Sir Christ. S. Laurence, 150. Sir Tho. Loftus, 100. M^r. Treasurer, 100. Capt. Harvy, 100. Sir Ed. Wingfeild, 200. Sir Garret Harvy, 150. Capt. Coote, 100. In all 1100.

Foote at Lymrick.

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The Earle of Thomond, 200. The Lord Audley, 150. Sir George Thorneton, 150. Sir Francis Bartely, 150. Sir Francis Kinsmel, 100. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine Thomas Boyse, 100. Captaine George Kinsmell, 100. In all 1000.

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At Kinsale, Sir Ric. Percy, 150. In Kerry, Sir Charles Willmott, 150. At Baltemore, Capt. Flower, 100. At Halebolin Fort, Capt. Fr. Slingsby, 100. In all, 500. Totall Foote in Mounster, 3700.

*Foote in
Connaght.*

Foote in Connaght.

Sir Oliver Lambert Governour, 150. The Earle of Kildare, 150. The Earle of Clanrickard, 150. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir Francis Shane, 100. Sir Oliver S. Johns, 200. Sir Tibbot Dillon, 100. Captaine Ghest, 150. Cap. Skipwith, 100. Cap. Thomas Roper, 150. Captaine Thomas Rotheram, 150. Captaine Harison, 100. Captaine Rorie O Donnell, 150. Capt. Tibott Bourke, 100. Captaine Tyrrell, 150. For the Judges use, 100. Sir Tho. Bourk, 150. In all, 2400.

Foote in Ulster, as at Knockfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Governour, 200. Sir Francis Conwey, 150. Capt. Roger Langford, 100. Capt. Tho. Phillips, 100. Capt. H. Sackford, 100. In all, 650.

At Mountjoy, Captaine Francis Roe Governour, 150. Capt. Edw. Morryes, 100. Cap. George Blount, 100.

In Lecale, Richard Moryson, late Governour, to be removed to Waterford, 200. At Armagh, Capt. Williams, 150. At the Newry, Capt. Trever, 100. At Cavan, Sir Garret Moore, 100. At Charlemount, Capt. Toby Cawfeild, 150. At Mount Norris, Capt. Atherton, 150. At Dundalke, Capt. Ferdinand Freckleton, 100.

At Monaghan and Ruske, Capt. Edward Blany Governour, 150. Sir James Fitz Peirce, 100. Sir Edward Fitz Garrett, 100. In all, 1650.

Foote at Ballishannon.

Sir Henrie Follyot Governour, 150. Capt. Edw. Basset, 100. Capt. J. Phillips, 100. Capt. Thom. Bourke, 100. Capt. Dorington, 100. Capt. W. Winsor, 150. Capt. Ralph Sidley, 100. Captaine Oram, 100. In all, 900.

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*Foote at
Loughfoyle.*

Foote at Loughfoyle.

Sir Henrie Dockwra Governour, 150. Capitaine Richard Hansard, 200.

At the Liffer, a place (in the Governours judgement) most necessary to bee held by the English, and guardable with one hundred men, to be maintained by land annexed to the Towne, were left for the present, Sir Matthew Morgan, 150. Capt. Nich. Pinner, 100. Capt. Bassel Brooke, 100.

At Newtowne, a most necessary Garrison, and guardable by 30 men, was left Capitaine Atkinson, 100.

At Omy, necessary and requiring this guard, Capt. Edw. Leigh, 100.

At Ainoigh, lesse necessary, Capt. Lewis Orrell, 100. Capt. Ellis Flyod, 100.

At Colmarhetreene, lesse necessary, Capt. Jo. Vaughan, 100.

At Colrane, a most necessary Garrison, and requiring no lesse number to guard it, left Capt. Joh. Sidney, 100.

At Ramullan, a necessary Garrison to be held, and guardable with 50 men, left Capitaine Ralph Bingley, 100.

At Do Castle, necessary, and requiring this guard. Capt. Tho. Badbey, 100.

At Colmore, most necessary to be held, was left Capt. Hart with 20 men, spared out of the former Companies. In all 1500. Totall of Foote. 11150.

The charge of the Irish warres in the last yeere 1602, beginning the first of April, and ending the last of March, besides concordatums, munition, and other extraordinaries, two hundred fourescore ten thousand seven hundred thirtie three pound eight shillings nine pence halfe penny farthing halfe farthing.

The charge of the Irish warres from the first of October 1598, to the last of March 1603, being foure yeeres and a halfe, besides great concordatums, great charge of munitions, and other great extraordinaries, eleven hundred fourescore eighteene thousand seven hundred seventeene pound nineteene shillings one penny.

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*The charge of
the Irish
warres from
October 1598
to March
1603.*

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The charge of the Army (as is abovesaid) forecast for the yeere following, beginning the first of Aprill, 1603, & to the last of March, 1604, the horse standing as in the former list, but the foote to be reduced to 8000, amounts to one hundred sixty three thousand three hundred fiftene pound eightene shillings three pence farthing halfe farthing.

Anno 1613.

In the yeere 1613, by the intreaty of my brother Sir Richard Moryson (Vice-President of Mounster) and out of my desire to see his children God had given him in Ireland, (besides some occasions of my private estate), I was drawne over againe into Ireland, where we landed the ninth of September, miraculously preserved from shipwrack. For at nine of the night (being darke at that time of the yeere) we fell upon the coast of Ireland, and not well knowing the coast, but imagining it to be Yoghall Port, we tacked about, to beate out at Sea the night following. But having some howers before sprung a Leake, and our Pumpes being foule, so as they would not worke, we had no hope to live so long at sea, and againe not knowing the coast, wee durst not venture to put in upon it, besides that in case it were Yoghall Harbour, our best fortune was to enter a barrd Haven by night. In this distresse by divine Providence we were preserved, the Moone breaking out through the dispersed clouds, and shining so bright, as our best Marrines easily discovered the Harbour of Yoghall, and the tide serving happily, we passed the barre into the same. And the next morning we might see the danger we had escaped most apparant; for our ship was so farre unable to indure the waves of the sea, with her great leake and the foulness of the Pumpes (if we had been forced to keepe a bord till the next daies light might make us know the coast) as the same night she had sunke in the quiet Harbour, if the Marriners had not chosen rather to drive her on ground.

Sea-danger.

At this time I found the State of Ireland much changed; for by the flight of the Earle of Tyrone, and

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the Earle of Tirconnell, with some Chiefes of Countries in the North, and the suppression and death of Sir Cahier Odogherty their confederate, in making new troubles, all the North was possessed by new Colonies of English, but especially of Scots.

The meere Irish in the North, and over all Ireland continued still in absolute subjection, being powerfull in no part of the Kingdome, excepting onely Connaght, where their chiefe strength was yet little to bee feared, if the English-Irish there had sound hearts to the State. But the English Irish in all parts (and especially in the Pale) either by our too much cherishing them since the last Rebellion (in which we found many of them false hearted), or by the Kings religious courses to reforme them in their obstinate adiction to Poperie (even in those points which oppugned his Majesties temporall power), or by the fulnesse of bread in time of peace, (whereof no Nation sooner surfets then the Irish), were growne so wanton, so incensed, and so high in the in step, as they had of late mutinously broken of a Parliament, called for the publike good and reformation of the Kingdome, and from that time continued to make many clamorous complaints against the English Governours (especially those of the Pale against the worthy Lord Deputy and his Ministers) through their sides wounding the Roiall authoritie, yea, in all parts the Churle was growne rich, and the Gentlemen and Swordmen needy, and so apt to make a prey of other mens goods. The Citizens of Mounster had long since obtained the renuing of their old Charters with all their exorbitant priviledges, and were now growne most refractory to all due obedience, especially for matters of Religion. In which parts the very numbers of the Priests (swarming among them, and being active men, yea contrary to their profession, bloudy in handling the sword) far exceeded the number of the Kings souldiers, reduced to very smal or no strength. And many loose men flocked into that Province out of the Low-Countries, who being trained there in the Irish

*The state of
Ireland in
1613.*

The Priests.

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[II. iii. 300.]

*The English
Lawyers.*

Regiment which the Arch-Duke, daily sent over new men to bee in like sort trained there, and themselves lay dispersed and hidden in all corners, with hearts (no doubt) apt to imbrace mischievous enterprises.

And howsoever the English Lawyers, comming over after the last warre, vaunted Ireland to be reduced to full obedience by their Itinerary circuits, (scarce mentioning with honour the sword that made way to them), yet they were therein deceived, that the Irish in their clamorous and litigious nature, flying to them with many complaints, did it onely to get countenance to their causes from them, who were strangers to them (perhaps against former judgements of the Governours, who better knew them, and so to oppose one Magistrate against another), not (as they might perhaps thinke) in sincere affection to be ruled by the Lawes. Yea, those Chiefes of Countries who used to waite on them to the limits of their Country, did it rather to keepe the people by their awfull presence from exhibiting complaints against themselves, then (as the Judges thought) out of their dutifull respect to them or to the State.

For otherwise, even among the English-Irish, in the inferiour persons from the Counstable to the Justices of Peace; and so upward, Justice had not his due course (which can never have life, but in the moving of al the members with due correspondency), and many outrages were by the English-Irish, and meere Irish, done against the English lately planted there. So as now when Ireland should have enjoyed the fruites of the last warre, in the due subjection of the meere Irish, these times threatned the next combustions from our degenerate English Irish. Onely the lovers of peace were erected to good hopes by a generall confidence that our Sovereigne would apply his Royall power, severe justice (most availeable in Ireland) and other his heroick vertues, to the timely prevention of any mischievous issue, as not long after his Majestie happily began, with bringing those his subjects to conformity of making wholesome Lawes for

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the publike good, by common consent of that Kingdomes three Estates, assembled in his Royall Court of Parliament at Dublyn, in the yeere 1614, to which worke and all his Royall counsels, God give happy successe.

The Lyst of Officers Generall and Provinciall, Warders, Horsemen and Footemen, as they stood at this time of Peace.

Officers Generall.

*Officers
Generall.*

The Lord Chichester Baron of Belfast Lord Deputy of Ireland, having enjoyed that place many yeeres beyond all example of former times. Sir Thomas Ridgeway Treasurer at Warres. Sir Richard Wingfeild Marshall of Ireland. Sir Olyver S. Johns Master of the Ordinance. Sir John King Muster-master. Sir Allen Apsley, and Thomas Smith, Commissaries of victuals. Edward Lenton Provost Marshall of the Army. Sir Josias Bodley, Directer General and Overseer of the Fortifications. Sir Thomas Dutton Scout-Master. Captaine John Pikeman, and Captaine William Meeres. Corporals of the field.

Officers Provinciall.

*Officers
Provinciall.*

The Lord Davers, Lord President of Mounster, and Sir Richard Moryson his Vice-President (besides the command in his owne right, left him by the Lord Lieutenant Mountjoy at his leaving the Kingdome.) Sir Richard Aldworth, Provost Marshall of Mounster. The Earle of Clanrickard, Lord President of Connaght, & Sir Oliver S. Johns his Vice-president, besides his employments in his owne right. Captaine Charles Coote Provost Marshall of Connaght. Sir Henry Dockwra Governour of Loughfoyle. Edmond Ellys Provost Marshall there. Sir Henry Follyot Governour of Ballishannon. The Lord Chichester, Governour of Carickfergus. Sir Henry Power Governour of Leax. Sir Edward Blaney, Seneshal of Monaghan, and commander

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of the Kings Forts there. Robert Bowen Provost Marshall of Lemster. Moyses Hill, Provost Marshall of Ulster. Captaine William Cole for Ballishannon, and Captaine Hugh Clotworth for Loughchichester, both Captaines of Boatmen.

[II. iii. 301.]

Warders.

Warders.

Dublin Castle, Roger Davies hath Warders, 14. Maryborough, Sir Adam Loftus warders, 16. Phillipstowne, Sir Garret Moore, warders, 12. Duncannon, Sir Laurence Esmond, warders, 30. Dungarvan, Sir George Carey, warders, 12. Castlemaine, Sir Thomas Roper, warders, 17. Limrick Castle, Sir Francis Bartley, warders 20. Castle Parke, Captaine Skipwith warders, 20. Halebolin, Sir Francis Slingsby, warders, 20. Athlone Castle, the Earle of Clanrickard, warders, 20. Ballenfad, Captaine S. Barbe, warders, 10. Dromruske, Captaine Griffioth, warders, 9. Carickfergus Castle, Captaine Fortescue, warders, 20. Moyry Castle, Captaine Smith, warders, 12. Mount Norreys, Master Annestey, warders, 10. Omey, Captaine John Leigh, warders, 20. Toome, Sir Thomas Phillips, warders, 12. Doe Castle Captaine Samford, warders, 9. Donnegall, Captaine Brooke, warders, 9. Cloughaughter, Captaine Culme, warders, 9. Eniskillen, Captaine Cole, warders, 10. Enishlaughlin, Sir Foulke Conway, warders, 14. In all, 335.

Horsemen.

Horsemen.

The Lord Deputy, 25. The Earle of Clanrickard, 25. The Lord Davers, 25. Master Marshall, 20. Sir Oliver Lambert, 25. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir Richard Aldworth, 12. Sir Garret Moore, 25. Sir Henrie Folliot, 6. Captaine John Kinsmill, 25. Captaine Charles Coote, 12. In all, 212.

Footemen.

Footemen.

The Lord Deputy, 100. The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. The Earle of Thomond, 50. The Lord Davers, 50. The Lord Cromwell, 50. Master Marshall, 50. Master

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Treasurer, 50. Sir Richard Moryson, 50. Sir Charles Willmott, 50. Sir Francis Rush, 50. Sir Henry Follyot, 50. Sir Edward Blaney, 50. Sir Francis Roe, keeper of Mountjoy and the Territory, 50. Sir Thomas Rotheram, keeper of the Fort at Galloway and the land, 50. Sir Francis Cooke, 50. Sir William Stuart, 50. Sir Arthur Savadge, 50. Sir Henry Power, 50. Sir Tobey Cawfeild, keeper of Charlemount and the Territory, 50. Sir Foulke Conway, 50. Sir Oliver S. Johns 50. Sir Thomas Roper, 50. Sir Richard Hansard, 50. Sir Thomas Phillips, 50. Captaine Craford, 50. Captaine John Vaughan, 50. Captaine Arthur Basset, 50. In all, 1400. The Totall number, 1947.

[The Discourse



The Discourse

[III. i. 1.]

upon severall heads through the said severall
Dominions.

Of Travelling in generall.

PART III. BOOKE I.

Chap. I.

That the visiting of forraigne Countries is good
and profitable: But to whom, and how farre?



Ince the best and most generous wits
most affect the seeing of forraigne
Countries, and there can hardly bee
found a man so blockish, so idle, or so
malicious, as to discourage those that
thirst after knowledge from so doing, I
might seeme to undertake a vaine and
needlesse taske, if I should perswade thereunto. Where-
fore I passe over the abundant fruits it yeeldeth. I will
not speake of the experience thereby attained, which
instructeth the most dull and simple, as the Sunne by
his beames coloureth the passenger, intending nothing
lesse then to be so coloured, & which neither by hearing,
nor any sense can so easily be gained, as by the eies.
For since nothing is in the understanding, which hath
not first beene in some of the senses, surely among the

*The visiting
of forraigne
Countries is
good and
profitable.*

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senses, which are (as it were) our Sentinels and Watchmen, to spie out all dangers, and conduct us through the thorny laberinth of this lifes pilgrimage, not any one is so vigilant, so nimble, so wary, nor by many degrees so trusty, as the sight, according to the saying of the Poet ;

Segnius irritant animos delapsa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subject a fidelibus, &c.

Lesse doth it move the minde that beates the eares,
Then what before the faithful eye appeares.

This ground of my discourse being granted, yet I am not so blindly affected to this course of travelling, as I will thrust all into this warfare without difference or choise. First, women for suspition of chastity are most unfit for this course, howsoever the masculine women of the Low Countries use to make voyages for trafficke, not only to their owne Cities, but even to Hamburg in Germany, and more remote places, neither would I advise Angelica, if she were alive in these dayes, to trust her selfe alone and in desart places to the protection of wandering Knights, lest shee should meete with more strong encounters, then was that of the weake Hermite.

*Women unfit
to travell.*

[III. i. 2.]

Nor yet will I herein give unlimited liberty to married men, holding Alexius unexcusable, who left his Bride upon the very marriage day: yet after a due time of conversation to combine love, why should he not in summer season follow the wars at his Princes command, yea upon his free will? (since we owe our selves to our Countrey, as to our Wives), yea why should he not search after politike wisdom, by short excursions into forraigne parts? (since we permit Merchants and Marriners, though married, to take long voyages for gaine, neither can Gentlemen more enrich themselves, then by the knowledge of military and politicall affaires). And indeed the civill Law permits men to travell after the Espousals: Alwaies provided that this industry rather increase, then diminish our estates, except our

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Country be in question, in which case all respects to our privat Family, (whether of love, of frugality, or whatsoever private good), must be cast behind our backs, (since the Common-wealth contains each private mans estate, and a part must be put to hazard for the preservation of the whole body).

Let Plato the Divine Phylosopher have patience with me; though I be not of his opinion, who in his twelfth Booke of Lawes, assigneth to this course the last period of life, from the age of fifty yeers to threescore. It is true which he saith of that age, to be most able to discern betweene good and unprofitable Lawes, and that it is lesse subject to infection from corrupt customes. Yet as some yong men once freed of the Tutors awe, be prone and apt to runne into vices, so many old men (alwaies comparing like dispositions) having forceably restrained themselves from naturall inclinations, for feare of shame, this cause of restraint once taken away, (while among strangers they are at more liberty), doe often returne to their owne nature, even in vices most improper to that age, and in that case their dotages are more slanderous both to themselves and their Countries. Now that old men may dote in this sort, one example of Tyberius the Emperour may serve for plane prove thereof, who in his youth and the yeeres of his strength, having dissembled his wicked inclination, at last in his old age gave his nature the raines and retiring himselfe (as it were out of the sight of the Senate and people of Rome) into the Iland Caprea, there he shamelesly gave himselfe over to all beastly lust, thinking himselfe safe from the censure of the Romans, though his wickednes was no lesse knowne in Rome, then if it had beene done in their market places, according to the Italian Proverbe;

*Olde men
unfit.*

| L' Amor' e cieco & vede niente;
| Ma non son' cieche l'altre gente :

| Love is starke blind, and sees nought done amisse,
| But other people are not blind ywisse.

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And though wee should grant that which Plato attributes to old men, yet they, whose custome is growne to another nature, shall never be able to endure the frequent changes of diet and aire, which young men cannot beare without prejudice to their health; except it be by little & little & (as it were) by insensible degrees. Not to speake of the weakenesse proper to old age, which makes them so sickly, as they are not onely unfit for conversation abroad, but also have small hope to returne and relate their observations at home. Old men are indeed most fit for Ambassages in neighbour countries, for in this employment they live in the sight of their Countrey men, and may use their accustomed diet, and a little change of aire doth but little hurt, which they may prevent or mitigate by the advice of Physicians.

*Children
unfit.*

Neither are childrens unripe yeeres fit for this course, howsoever they are more to be excused, who send them with discreet Tutors to guide them, with whose eyes and judgements they may see and observe. Thus the Romans (as Suetonius writes) permitted the visiting of forraigne Countries to the Sonnes of Senators, under the government of one who had borne Office in the City, (for the charge of such children is not to be credited to all of full age without choyce). Children like Parrats, soone learne forraigne languages, and sooner forget the same, yea, and their mothers tongue also. A familiar friend of mine lately sent his sonne to Paris, who after two yeeres returning home, refused to aske his father blessing after the manner of England, saying, Ce n'est pas le mode de France, It is not the French fashion. Thus whilest (like Apes) they imitate strange fashions, they forget their owne, which is just as if a man should seeke his perdition, to gaine a cloake for ornament. Likewise sickly men are unfit for this course of life, who in regard of their weak health, want the meanes to make benefit thereof. Lastly, they shall do well to keep themselves at home, who have a scrupulous conscience, and thinke themselves so wise, as they will not follow the advice of experienced

[III. i. 3.]

*Sicke men not
fit.*

*Those who are
scrupulous
unfit.*

men. But as in all actions they are happy that hold the meane, so middle age is most fit to visit forraigne parts, and to make use thereof, having first laid a good foundation of Arts and Sciences in generall, and specially those which they meane to professe, and being of so ripe discretion, as they can distinguish betweene good and evill. And since we must not only respect their ages, but most of all their dispositions, I will adde, that it must be diligently observed in each man, whether he naturally affect this course or no: for it is most certaine, that the nature of man cannot with good successe be forced to any course it liketh not, according to the old saying of the Poet,

*Middle age
most fit.*

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurrit :

Though Nature be repelled by force,
Yet still it turnes to have his course.

I know that second causes can doe nothing without the first, and it is no lesse true, that the first doth in naturall things worke by the second, which makes me of opinion, that the position of the Starres in each mans nativity is not altogether vaine. This granted, it is not just, that the Common-wealth, Parents, or Friends, should wrest any mans nature to courses contrary thereunto, not leaving each man liberty to shew and follow his owne inclination.

To conclude, I thinke with Plato, that before any man take this course, he must obtaine leave of the Magistrate, as the custome is in England, where none but Merchants may without leave goe out of the Iland, to the end that suspected persons may bee kept at home, lest being not well instructed in the true religion, they should bee seduced by Papists. And I take Parents consent for granted, without which, the sacred power given them by God should wickedly be violated.

*Leave of
magistrates
and parents
to be first
obtainned.*

My purpose was thus slightly to have passed over the worthy prayes, due to the knowledge of forraigne States, wherewith I began, lest (with the vaine Rhetoritian) I

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should seeme to praise Hercules, whom no man dispraised. But when I consider, that so many heads, so many wits, and remember that my selfe have sometimes heard (though a man shall be last to heare the detractions of his owne courses) some pleasantly, others wittily, and some malitiously to scoffe at this kind of industry to gaine knowledge, it will not be amisse so farre to take in hand againe the taske I had almost finished, as according to the end of my discourse, I may incourage the indifferent Reader, by fully answering their idle objections. In the first front are the pleasant men, who remember the Italians stale Proverb,

Chi Asino va a Roma, Asino se ne torna.

If an Asse at Rome doe sojourne,
An Asse he shall from thence returne.

The very Asses straying into barren pastures, do after learne more willingly to stay at home with plentiful feeding. And very dull spirited men (at whom this bitter Proverb allegorically aimeth) howsoever by this industry, they doe not suddenly become Catoes, yet (I will be bold to say) they are by nothing more, or with greater ease instructed, according to their capacities, so they travel not alone, as Socrates Laconically said. For if by the way they find good companions, they must needes in some measure be partners of their wits and observations. Neither are the wise observers of humane Pilgrimage ignorant, that grave University men, and (as they say) sharpe sighted in the Schooles, are often reputed idiots in the practice of worldly affaires, as on the contrary blockish men, and (to speake with the Italians) very Asses, by continuall practice in grave imployments, gaine the wisdome of them whose affaires they manage, and the more they seeke to know the World, the more they converse with those who know more then themselves, so much are they more inflamed with sweet emulation, such as tooke away sleepe from Themistocles, reading the Triumphs of Miltiades.

*Grave
University
men often
reputed idiots
in worldly
affaires.*

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Secondly, the wittie detractors object, that Aglaus [III. i. 4.] Psophidius was judged wise by the Oracle of Apollo, because he never went out of the Grange wherein he was born, according to that of the Poet Claudian.

Fœlix qui patriis ævum transegit in arvis.
Ipsa Domus puerum quem videt ipsa senem.

Happy in native soyle his life who spends,
Whom one house birth, one house a gray head lends.

But what if passengers should come to a stately Pallace of a great King, were hee more happy who is led onely into the kitchin, and there hath a fat messe of brewis presented him, or rather hee who not onely dines at the Kings Table, but also with honour is conducted through all the Courts and Chambers, to behold the stately building, pretious furniture, vessels of gold, and heapes of treasure and Jewells. Now such, and no other is the Theater of this world, in which the Almighty Maker hath manifested his unspeakable glory. He that sayles in the deepe, sees the wonders of God, and no lesse by land are these wonders daily presented to the eyes of the beholders, and since the admirable variety thereof represents to us the incomprehensible Majestie of God, no doubt we are the more happy, the more fully we contemplate the same.

*The theater of
this world
full of the
wonders of
God.*

Thou wilt say, he hath lived well who hath spent his time retyred from the world.

*Perhaps a
true saying
for women.*

Benè qui latuit, benè vixit.

Who knowne is least, hath lived best.

This may be true in women, and thus among many Roman Gentlemen, when one praised Fulvia, another Claudia, a third with good judgement preferred a Senators unknowne wife to both these, and many other severally commended, because she was no lesse good and faire, yet was knowne to few or none: Not unlike to that

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Matrone, who thought all mens breath did stinke as her husbands did. But it is the part of an industrious man, to act their affaires in the world, tho sluggards lie by the fire. Of a man, Parents challenge a part, Friends a part, and the Common-wealth a part, and hee was judged an unprofitable servant by the most true Oracle of God, who hid his Talent.

Neither doe the Verses of the Lyrical Poet (objected in the third place) any whit move me.

Oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus & illis.

Abroad forgetting thine, at home forgot by thine.

And in another place ;

Romæ laudetur Samos & Chios, & Rhodos absens.

In Samos, Rhodes, and Chios what may please,
Let us at Rome commend sitting at ease.

*Effeminate
Horace.*

O poore effeminate Horace (let his Genius pardon me) a very hogge of the Epicures heard, and (to use his owne words) borne to consume corne. Is any mutuall remembrance of kinsmen more pleasing, then that which is caused by mention of their vertues? If a man should offer to show thee all the strange miracles of Africk, wouldst thou answer, goe your waies and paint them, which done I will gladly see them : or if one would show thee Paradice, and the infinite flowers and fruits thereof, wouldst thou rather snort in a chimney corner, and not shake off the least drowsinesse, for the very possession of that happy inheritance, but if hee would goe and paint them, then promise, perhaps and at leasure to view them? yet as Socrates for arguments sake, was wont to defend the contrary to all disputers; so I rather judge that Horace thus writes in the person of the Epicure, (after the manner of Poets) or for pastime and spending of vacant time, then that it was his owne judgement.

There want not some, who discourage men from this

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course, by the manifold difficulties and dangers thereof.
But as the Poet saith :

Per ardua virtus, Vertue climbs craggy Rockes.
Nec jacet in molli veneranda scientia lecto.

Venerable science with his gray head,
Is never found on a soft feather bed.

Many more there bee, who tremble at the very thought [III. i. 5.]
of dangers of death, to which this course of life is subject.
Behold Salomons sluggard, who saith, There is a Lion
by the way, a Lion is in the streets. Fearest thou the
Sea because it swalloweth many? Why fearest thou not
a bed, in which more have breathed there last?

But a greater feare distracteth even the mindes of the
wiser sort, that they see many returne from forraine parts
corrupted with vices proper to them, according to the
Flemings Proverb: that no man was ever made more
healthfull by a dangerous sicknesse, or came home better
from a long voyage. And because it is hard to learne
vertues, and more hard not to learne vices, or to depose
them once learned; from hence they say it is, That so
many homebred Angels, returne from Italy no better
then Courtly Divells. Surely this is just, as if a man
should say, I have a ground overgrowne with bushes,
which I feare to root up, because nettells or darnell will
more easily spring then grasse or corne. Fields are made
fruitfull by tillage, so are men made more wise by
knowledge of forraine Kingdomes. The Italians say
excellently;

*What
distracteth the
wiser sort.*

Coglier' le roso, lasciar' le spine.

Sweet Roses gathered, make an end,
And leave the prickles that offend.

Wee must observe vertues for imitation, and vices that
wee may abhorre them. Contraries are manifested by
contraries; beautie shineth more being set with a
deformed soyle, and the glory of vertues is more eminent,
by the object of base vices. Yet that which was said of

*Vertues for
imitation,
vices for
abhorrence.*

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the Athenians, may truly be said of the best wits of all sexes and conditions. If they be good, they are best, if ill, worst. Thus Histories witnesse, that women by nature most witty, have often given extraordinarie testimonies of excellent goodnes, or monstrous badnesse. Thus Suetonius saith of Cæsar.

Magnus virtutes magna comitantur vitia.

Greatest vertues of the minde;
With like vices are combinde.

*By travel the
good become
best, the bad
prove worst.*

Thus the English Proverb saith. No knave to the learned knave. I confesse that steepe mountaines yeeld most violent streames, but it is a point of Art to lead these streames in a faire bed till they fall into the Sea. This is the scope of all I say: That by this course the good become best, the bad prove worst. Surely, out of the holy Scriptures the Atheist gathereth most profane arguments, as the godly Reader sucks the Eternall food of his soule. Bees and Toades draw hony and poyson out of the same hearb. To conclude, the ill humors of the body growne predominant, turne the best meats to their nourishment; yet, none but a mad man for the abuse of that which is of it selfe good, will forbid to read the most holy Scriptures, to gather sweetest flowers, or to eat the best meates. Zwinglius writes of a certaine Earle, who after long absence returning to his home, and no lesse to his former vices, as a dog to his vomit, and being for the same reproved, did answere that his Taylor also returned to his occupation. But Cato the younger, was of a more vertuous minde, whose regular moralitie could not bee corrupted by wanton Asia, but made his familiar friend Curio a false Prophet therein. Farre greater was the vertue of Scipio, who in Spaine left a faire Virgin untouched, and yet would see her, that hee might excell Alexander the Great in the rare emulation of continency; who durst not behold the captive daughters of Darius, least he should be subdued by women, who had conquered men. Live with good men,

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seeke out honest not licentious houses to lodge in ; For the Italians say well.

Dammi con chi tu vivi, io saprò quel' che tu fai.

Tell me with whom thou dost converse,

And I will soone thy deedes rehearse.

Restraine the vices to which thou art naturally most inclined, by forcing thy selfe to exercise contrary vertues. For the Poet saith truely :

Animum rege, qui nisi paret, Imperat :

Be sure to rule thy minde in all thou dost,

If it obey not, then it rules the rostr.

Let the incontinent man restraine his unbridled lust, [III. i. 6.] by the remembrance of his chast Mistresse at home, which will make him feare the miserable diseases incident to the unchast, as Seamen tremble to strike upon a Rocke. Let him that is given to excessive drinking of wine, while yet he is sober, behold the ridiculous gestures, the dull braine, the shickle memory, the oppressed stomacke, with each weakenesse and deformity of the drunkard : so by one vices remedy, let him learne to cure all the rest. There is no danger to so wary minds, either of leeing their owne vertues, or of learning forraigne vices : besides, that sweet vertues are of such power, as they forcibly drawe, even negligent men standing least upon their guard, to admire, love and exercise them. Yea, let these strict censurers of manners tell me, if they have so cleansed the pompe of their owne Common-wealth, as there is lesse danger of this corruption at home then abroad. Surely many fall into vices abroad, but more at home ; many returning from forraigne parts, after they have abroad satisfied their disordinate appetites, by giving youth his swinge (as the Proverbe is), doe at home cast off their vices, and returne to the old bounds of shamefastnesse, which at home they never violated ; adding to their old vertues the luster of forraigne ornaments. On the contrary, most men at home, wrapped in the habit

*No danger in
travel to
wary minds.*

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of vices, by custome taking away both the shame and sense of sinne, never reforme their debauched life, nor forsake vices, till in age or death they be forsaken by them.

*What vices
Travellers are
judged to be
most guiltie of.*

But among other vices, dissembling, lying, and jelousie, are by popular voice deemed proper to Travellers. The first imputation I will referre to the precept of the next Chapter, shewing how far it is fit for a wise man to dissemble, and the second to the last precept of the same Chapter, shewing how a Traveller should governe his tongue. And in this place by the way I will briefly discusse the reproch of jelousie, which the tumultuous flocke of Weomen injuriously thrust upon us: Just as if they should say, that by experience and the industrious search of wisdome, we should be endued with vices, not with vertues, or that those who can see farre of, yet cannot discerne that which is before their eyes and feet, or that those who are skilfull in politike affaires, are ignorant in domestical government, & that those who abhorring litigious suits at law, readily make peace with their neighbours, would nourish household dissentions most odious to a wise man, not knowing the tearmes of love, wherewith they are in duty bound to entertaine their dearest friends, their sweetest wife.

Et dulces natos ac pignor a chara Nepotes.

And Children sweet sent from above,
And Nephewes, deere pledges of love.

*Abuse of
honourable
titles.*

But to say truth, most honourable titles of old, are by abuse growne most reprochfull, as the name of Sophysters, by their continuall brawlings about Mooneshine in the water, the name of Elenches by intricate fallacies, the name of Tyrants by unlimited cruelties, and the name of jelousie by affecting extremities. As that jelousie is most hateful, which growes from malice of nature, from a mind guilty of wickednesse, or from conscience of any defects in a mans owne body or mind; so the vertue of jelousie (deere not onely to Travellers,

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but to all wise men) is (in my opinion) approved of all men that are in their right wits. Our very God is in a good sence said to be jelous: He that hath a Jewell of price, is not willing to have it snatched out of his hands, much lesse out of his sight. Reason like a severe Schoolemaster, should overlooke all thy owne actions, and why should it not have like authority in directing the behaviour of those, whose honour or shame cannot be devided from thine. And of this Judgement (so vertue decline not to the neighbour vice, betweene which there goes nothing but a paire of sheares, as the Proverbe is), you shall ever find the chastest Weomen, desiring an husband vertuously jelous: For others who had rather not be loved, then have their actions observed, leave them to be their husbands executioners, and to the racke of their owne consciences, onely praying them to take this warning, that their husbands loves (for which perhaps they litle care) beginne then to freeze, or rather vanish away, when they have once cast away all care of their good name, since onely vertue combines true love.

But the slanderers of this industry presse us more neerely, objecting, that vices, ill customes, and very heresies are spread through the World by travellers. Let me aske them, how wee should have knowne the divers elevation of the Poles? who would have taught us Geography, representing painted Worlds unto us? how should wee have learned all other Arts? yea, how should we have discovered new Worlds (or rather the unknowne Regions of the old) had not this industry of Travellers been? Yea, to use the most binding and concluding argument, the saving knowledge of the holy Gospell had been unrevealed to us, had not the Apostles excelled in this industrie, of making the whole World their Country to preach the same? When wee have thus compared the great and manifest profit of travelling, with the light and doubtfull inconveniences objected against it, we must confesse, that they who discourage the affecters of these great rewards, by such smal dangers, are not unlike the

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*Another
objection
against
travellers.*

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Sophisters, who perswade that blindnesse, deafenesse, and the privations of other sences, are not to bee numbred among evils, because we see many displeasing things, often heare that which offendeth the eares, and for one good smell draw in twenty ill savors. For my part, let them dispute never so subtilly, though they convince me, yet shall they never perswade mee, to pull out my eyes, stop my eares, or cut of my nose, nor yet to preferre sloth to an active life.

*A not unjust
feare of
Parents and
Friends.*

But we must give care to Parents, Friends, and as well private as publike Common wealths-men, who not unjustly seeme to feare, lest young men by this course should be perverted from true Religion, and by this feare, dissuade passing into forraigne parts, as the chiefe cause of this mischief. Surely if the vessell be new that taketh an ill savour, it will sticke much faster thereunto, but I have already professed, that I would have a Traveller of ripe yeeres, having first laid good grounds of all Arts, and most especially of Religion. Let me speake of my selfe: When I beheld the mimickall gestures and ceremoniall shew of holinesse of the Roman Priests, (under the shaddow whereof they abuse the superstition of Laymen with unspeakable Arts, to their owne ambition and covetousnesse), and on the contrary observed their corrupt manners, I was so farre from being seduced by them, as I could not refraine from laughter, and wondered (as Cicero speakes of Southsayers), that one Priest did not laugh when hee saw another his fellow Priest. If you meete a faire painted face, the more neere and narrowly you behold it, the lesse it pleaseth, but if the beauty be true, then there is danger, least you or your sonne swallow the baite. Search corrupted Wares narrowly, and they will stinke at thy nose, which farther off, seeme to be odoriferous. Such is the painting of the Papists. The English and those of the reformed Church, who esteeme their Arguments as speares of bulrushes, permit their books to be read in our Universities, but they perhaps guilty of errors, will in no

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sort give liberty to reade our bookes. We appeale to all that are skilfull in Languages for the truth of our translations, they by statute of the Jesuites Colledge, admit no young Scholler to study languages, till he have taken an oath, that hee will use that skill to the defence of the Roman translations with tooth and naile, wherein if they offend their consciences, they have the Popes power of dispensation on their side. Therefore let the Papists feare to give their followers leave to heare us in our Schooles or Churches, lest they be chained with the force of truth. And let us securely permit our men to passe into the heart of Italy, so they be first of ripe yeeres, and well instructed. Upon my word they run no other danger, then the escaping the snares of the Inquisition, of which discretion, I shall speake at large in the foure and twentieth Precept of Dissimulation, in the next Chapter. If any man object, that some of our young Schollers have passed into their Seminaries beyond the Seas, let him consider, that they were not seduced abroad, but first infected at home, in their parents houses, and our Universities, which mischief Parents and Magistrates ought to prevent, by keeping the suspected at home: for the rest there is no danger.

But behold, when I thought to have finished my taske, carpers consumed with envie, who barke at travellers as dogs at the Moone, and thinking to gaine reputation by other mens disgrace, they are not ashamed to say, that vagabond Caine was the first Traveller. Old Writers I confesse sometimes use the word of Perigrination, for banishment; but God be praised, here is no question made of banished or cursed men driven out from the sight of God. They which spend the greater part of their yeeres in forraigne places, as it were in voluntary banishment, may more justly bee compared to Caine, and are not unlike to rude Stage players, who to the offence of the beholders, spend more time in putting on their apparrell, then in acting their Comedy, (for life is compared to a stage, and our Parents and Kins-men expecting

*Carpers
objections.*

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our prooffe, to the beholders). Therefore it is fit to reſtraine this courſe within due limits, to which the Romans (as Suetonius writes) preſcribed (perhaps too ſtrictly) three yeeres.

*A moſt
ſpacious field
of common
griefe.*

In the laſt place, they that detract from Travellers, to the end they may choke us with our owne diſdaine, if not with arguments, ſend out their ſpyes in their laſt ſkirmiſh to caſt this Dart at us. After ſo many dangers and troubles, how many of you, (after your returne) are preferred in the Common-wealth? To what purpoſe doe you tire your ſelves in attaining ſo many vertues? Is it to exerciſe them, leaning on a plowmans or ſhepherds ſtaffe? I ſhould enter a moſt ſpacious field of common griefe, if I ſhould ſearch the cauſes, why in our age great part of the Counſellours of States, and Peeres of Realmes, rather deſire to have dull and ſlothfull companions, then thoſe that are wiſe and ambitious; and ſo in like ſort, rather baſe and expert ready ſervants, then thoſe that are free and learned. Knowledge puffeth up, and I remember of late a learned Phyſician, who being ſent for by a great Lord, and he being offended at his long ſtay, freely and boldly answered; that knowledge could not dance attendance. Hence is our calamity, to omit the more curious ſearch of this evill, whoſe firſt encounter aſtoniſheth me, though I am not ignorant of the cauſe: but let him that caſt this Dart, tell me, whether this ill be not common to all men of vertue, and if it be ſo, he muſt at leaſt confeſſe with the Poet,

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris:

Partners in griefe, doe ſolace give.

*The fruit of
travell is
travell.*

And let all rare men in any kind of vertue, when they are deſpiſed or neglected, comfort themſelves with this Phyloſophicall precept of Aristotle, that vertue is deſired for it ſelfe, not for any thing elſe. So I ſay the fruit of travell is travell it ſelfe.

Having thus retorted our enemies weapons upon their owne breſts, becauſe the common ſort is more moved

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with examples, then arguments, it remaines, that in the last place I should adorne the triumph of this vertuous industry, with some few and speciall examples. Many have beene found, who have passed into remote parts of the World, onely to gaine health; farre greater is the number of them, who as the Poet saith;

Pauperiem fugiunt ultra Garamantas & Indos:

Who further runne to shunne base poverty,

Then Garamants and Indians doe ly.

And greatest is the number of them, who following the standard of ambition, have pierced to the very gates of hell with sound of Drummes and Trumpets. To conclude, as diligent Merchants gather precious wares into one storehouse, so Phylosophers have from the first ages of the World, passed by flockes into forraigne parts, to gaine knowledge, as the Egyptians into Chaldea, the Greekes into Egypt, and the Romans into Greece. Pythagorus walked farre and neere, not onely to learne, but also in divers places to get Disciples whom he might teach: for the Poet saith well;

*Ambition
leads the
largest crowd.*

Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc, sciat alter:

To know availeth thee no whit,

If no man know, thou knowest it.

To be briefe, if wee will credit old monuments, (which I confesse to suspect), hee came in person, and sowed the precepts of his Phylosophy, even among the Britaines devided from all the World. Plato hath written somewhat too severely against Travellers, perhaps like [III. i. 9.]

Alexander the Great, who was angry with his Master Aristotle, because hee had published the *ακροαματα*, which hee had read unto him, thereby leaving him nothing wherein he might excell others; so Plato having gotten the name of Divine, by his very travels would forbid or limit the same to others, that he might shine among the Phylosophers.

*Plato too
severe against
Travellers.*

Velut inter stellus Luna minores,

As the bright Moone, among the lesser starres.

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It is most certaine, that hee was not onely industrious, but even curious in this course, so as he sayled into Sicily, the entrance of which Iland was upon paine of death forbidden to strangers, onely that he might see the burning of the Mountaine Ætna. Apelles by drawing of a most subtile lyne at Rhodes, was made knowne to Protogenes. Homer being blind, yet ceased not to travell: In our Age, they which are renowned at home for any Art, are not content therewith, except they may passe into forraigne Courts, to make knowne their skill. The most ancient Lawgivers, got the experience, by which they had rule in their Cities, not by secure study at home, but by adventurous travels abroad, as the Poet saith;

Ingenium mala sæpe movent,

Adversities doe often whet our wits.

*Great
Travellers
and great
men.*

Moyses, Orpheus, Draco, Solon, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Licurgus, and almost all the Consuls of Rome, themselves had beene in forraigne parts, and granted ample priviledges to strangers. Among Physicians we read, that Æsculapius and Hypocrates travelled, and that Galene was at Smyrna, Corinth, Alexandria, in Palestine, at Lemnos, Ciprus, and at Rome; and Avicenna boasteth, that he had passed through the whole World. I know that many in our Universities become learned Physicians, but no doubt they would have beene more learned, if they had passed into forraigne parts. One Land yeeldeth not all things: A man shall hardly learne at home the divers natures of hearbes, and other things, or the divers dispositions of one and the same body, according to the difference of the clyme, aire, and diet. This the Spaniard wittily observed, who having got the French Pox, sayled into America, and did there learne the cure of that disease, from those who first infected the Spaniards therewith. We praise Physicians especially for experience, as Lawyers for diligence, desiring to have an old Physician and a young Lawyer, to give us counsell and follow our

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business, but experience is of severall things dispersed through the universall World. It is written that of old the Ægyptians had severall Physicians for each severall disease, who would not have returned more learned from their Lectures? Also they laid up approved remedies of diseases in the Temples of Isis and Vulcane. What Scholler then returning from Ægypt, should not have gained great reputation to his skill? and we know that opinion many times availeth with the sicke even more then the medicine. In this sort ambitious men of old, by the onely opinion of their experience by seeing the world, did obtaine it to be numbered among the Gods. Jupiter of Creta in Italy, Bacchus in the furthest East, Hercules in the most remote parts of Africke, towards the West, planted monuments of their travels. The voyage of the Argonautes, the wanderings of Ulisses and Æneas, are sung by all Ballad-sellers. Alexander the Great passed the monument of Bacchus in the East. It were infinite onely to name the Roman Emperours, who excelled in this industry: For as the Wiseman said, that he was a Citizen of the World, so the Romans, by giving remote Princes the priviledge to be Citizens of Rome, and by sending Roman Citizens in Colonies, to inhabit remote places, used the whole World for a City, neither did they ever admit any to the highest dignities in the City of Rome, nor yet to the inferiour Magistrates thereof; who had not first borne rule or Office in some remote Province. One Julius Cæsar, came, saw, and overcame with his Army, among the Cimbrians, Germans, Spaniards, Britans, Grecians, Africans, and those of Asia. The very Western Emperours of later times, have been enflamed with the same desire. Charles the Great made happy warre beyond the Pyrenean mountaines against the Sarrasens, beyond the Alpes against the Lombards, and in Germany against the Saxons. Who hath not heard of the European Princes, like so many Floods carrying Armies into the East? To omit all other, (for I desire to be briefe), Charles the fifth, inferiour to none of his

*The Travels
of the Gods.*

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Predecessours, and emulous of Hercules himselfe, passed his pillars at the furthest straight of the Mediteranean Sea, and added to his Armes the Mot of Hercules; Non plus ultra. No farther beyond this, onely leaving out the first word Non, because he had passed the limits of Hercules, as Alexander the Great had done those of Bacchus. Whereby notwithstanding some thinke that he did rather blemish, then increase the fame of his travels, since that part of Africke was so neere adjoyning to his Kingdomes of Spaine; but in the meane time they forget that he was borne at Gaunt in Flaunders.

*Examples
drawne from
the holy
Scriptures.*

Me thinkes I have said enough, and too much in so cleere a cause, therefore I will onely adde some choyce examples of the holy Scriptures, and so conclude. Abraham left his Countrey at Gods command, and went to the Land of Promise, called also the Land of Pilgrimage: Jacob served for his wives in Mesopotamia, and in his old age passed into Ægypt. The Israelites were brought by large circuit from the servitude of Ægypt, into the Land of Promise, that the protection of God might by adversity be more imprinted on their minds, and they be more stirred up to keepe the Lawes of so gracious a God. The example of a woman the Queen of Sheba, is famous, who came to Jerusalem to be an eye and eare witnesse of Salomons wisdom. To be briefe, Christ himselfe lived in the flesh as a Pilgrim, choosing no set place of abroad; when he was in the Cradle, three Wisemen came from the East to worship him, and himselfe being an Infant, was carried into Egypt, to shunne Herods tyranny. He commanded his Apostles to preach the Gospell throughout the World. Among the Fathers, Saint Augustine wished to have seene three things, Christ in the flesh, Paul in the Pulpit, and Rome in the flower. In our Age the Turkes and Papists so madly affect Pilgrimages, as they superstitiously thinke the same availeable to the salvation of their soules, with which extreame, least I should seeme to know no meane, I will conclude these examples.

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*Variety the
most pleasing
thing in the
World.*

For my part, I thinke variety to be the most pleasing thing in the World, and the best life to be, neither contemplative alone, nor active altogether, but mixed of both. God would have made eternall spring, had he not knowne, that the divers seasons would be not onely most profitable to the workes of nature, but also most plesant to his creatures, while the cold Winter makes the temperate Spring more wished. Such is the delight of visiting forraigne Countreys, charming all our sences with most sweet variety. They seeme to me most unhappy, and no better then Prisoners, who from the cradle to old age, still behold the same wals, faces, orchards, pastures, and objects of the eye, and still heare the same voices and sounds beate in their eares; Not the song of the Cuckow, nor the craking of the Crowes, nor the howling of Wolves, nor the bellowing of Oxen, nor the bleying of Sheepe, no nor the sweet voyces of Larkes and Nightingales, if they be shut up in a Cage, doe so much please us at home, as the variety of all, composed of divers tunes, delights us in the fields abroad. In like sort, it is manifest that all the other sences are not so much pleased with any thing, as variety. They are in some measure happy, who having but one house, yet have change of chambers, to remove as the season of the yeere changeth: but I judge Lawyers and Officers more happy, who have their Termes to live in the City, and their Vacations to returne into the Countrey, so often (as it were) renewing their marriage dayes: And of all, I judge the Nomades most happy, (the comparison holding in other things) who live in Tents, and so by removing, not onely escape the heat of Summer, the cold of Winter, the want of pastures, all diseases, and all unpleasing things, but at their pleasure, enjoy all commodities of all places.

Let us imitate the Storkes, Swallowes, and Cranes, which like the Nomades yeerely fetch their circuits, and follow the Sunne, without suffering any distemper of the seasons: The fixed Starres have not such power over

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inferiour bodies, as the wandring Planets. Running water is sweet, but standing pooles stinke: Take away Idlenes, and the bate of all vice is taken away. Men were created to move, as birds to flie; what they learne by nature, that reason joined to nature teacheth us. Nothing can be added to the worthy praises of him as the Poet saith;

Qui Mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes:

Who many Mens manners hath seene,
And hath in many Cities beene.

*The conclusion
of the matter.*

In one word, I will say what can be said upon this subject; Every soyle is to a valiant man his owne Country, as the Sea to the Fishes. We are Citizens of the whole World, yea, not of this World, but of that to come: All our life is a Pilgrimage. God for his onely begotten Sonnes sake, (the true Mercury of Travellers) bring us that are here strangers safely into our true Country.

Chap. II.

Of Precepts for Travellers, which may instruct
the unexperienced.



Will follow my purpose, and give precepts, not to expert men, (as Phormio did to Hanniball in military affaires), but onely to the unexperienced, and that not curiously, as if I would prescribe them every step they should goe, but such as may whet the wits and memories of other men, well knowing that many things may be added, which are slipped out of my memory, and which others may daily find out.

*God is first to
be sollicit.*

I In the first place, as every man in any course of life, so most of all a Traveller, who is subject to many dangers, must by his daily prayers sollicite God for his gracious protection. All our actions must take beginning from

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God, the fountaine of all good, if we desire with the Israelites, to have Gods Cloud and pillar of fier protect us in our journies and aboads. Let him daily commend himselfe to Gods protection, and even in his journeys, daily at morning and evening, not while he slumbers in his bed, but in private withdrawne from company, either kneeling as before his father, or standing as before his Master and Lord, make his prayers, though never so short, to his almighty and most mercifull God. And let no man take this for a needlesse precept, for I freely professe, that when I was most devout in this kind, I found my selfe hedged about with the good Angell, as on the contrary when I neglected the same, I often observed by some manifest accident, that I was left to error and danger.

2 Let each Traveller forecast with himselfe his owne purposes and ends: For they which are unskilfull in the Arts of painting, carving, and building, can never worthily praise, nor well imitate the rare workes they shall see of these kinds. Experience teacheth, that no action is wisely undertaken, whereof the end is not forecast in the first place, howsoever it be last put in execution: but since it were infinit to apply my precepts to the severall ends of severall men, and no more possible, then for a Physician to cure the Patient, not knowing the causes and the progresse of his sicknesse, I professe to write especially in this place to the Humanist, I meane him that affects the knowledge of State affaires, Histories, Cosmography, and the like, and out of that I write, let other men apply to their use, what they judge fit for them. And if the Humanist judge many things I shall write lesse necessary for him, let him know, that as an Orator and Poet must have some skill in all Sciences, so the Humanist must have some knowledge of all things which fall into practice and discourse.

*A traveller
must forecast
his owne
purposes.*

3 Let a Traveller observe the underwritten things, & [III. i. 12.] of them some curiously, some slightly, as he shall judge them fit for his purpose. He shall observe the fruitfulness

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*What things
are to be
observed by a
Traveller.*

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of each Countrey, and the things wherewith it aboundeth, as the Mines of mettals and precious stones, the chiefe lawes and customes of the workers in those Mines, also Bathes and the qualitie of the water, with the diseases for the curing whereof it is most proper, the names springs and courses of Rivers, the pleasant Fountaines, the abundance or rarity of Pastures, Groves, Wood, Corne, and Fruits, the rare and precious Plants, the rare and proper Beasts, the prices of necessary things, and what he daily spends in his diet and horsemeat, and in hiring Horses or Coaches, the soyle of every dayes journey, the plenty of Fishes or Flesh, the kinds of meat or drinke, with the sauces and the rarer manners of dressing meates, the Countreys expence in apparrell, with their constancy or ficklenesse in wearing it, the races of Horses, as the Giannets of Spaine, the Coursers of Naples, and the heavy Horses of Freesland, and how they manage and feed these Horses, the scituation of Cities and Provinces, the healthfulnes of the Aire, the Chorography, the buildings, the ritches, the magnificence of Citizens, their household stuffe, and in generall all speciall things, as Statuaes, Colosses, Sepulchers with the Incriptions, Lybraries, with the most rare Bookes, Theaters, Arches, Bridges, Forts, Armories, Treasuries, Monasteries, Churches, publike houses, Universities, with their Founders, revenewes, and disputations. To conclude, let him visit the most learned men, and those that excell in military Art or any vertue, and let him conferre with them, as his ends require. Thus did I visit Beza at Geneva, thus did I visit Belarmine at Rome, (being ready to take Horse, and in the habit and person of a Frenchman). Thus in my returne did I gladly see Henry the fourth of Burbon, King of France, famous for the feats of Armes and Wisdome; onely Lipsius, whom I loved for his Booke of constancy, and much desired to see for his universall learning, did bereave me of this hope, when I came into the Low-Countreys, by his inconstant flight to the Spaniards. The Traveller shall further observe

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the policy of each State, and therein the Courts of each King or Prince, with the Courtiers entertainments, fees or offices, the statutes of the Princes, their renewes, the forme of the Common-wealth, whether the Prince be a Tyrant, or beloved of the people, what Forces he hath by Sea or Land, the military discipline, the manners of the people, their vices, vertues, industry in manuell Arts, the constitution of their bodies, the History of the Kingdome, and since the soule of each man is the man, and the soule of the Common-wealth is Religion, he shall observe the disposition of the people, whether it be religious, superstitious, or prophane, and the opinions of Religion differing from his, and the most rare Ceremonies thereof. He shall also observe the trafficke of Merchants, and therein the commodities which they carry out, and most want, the Havens and roades for Ships, their skill in navigation, and whether they use subjects or strangers for their Marriners. Lastly, the value of the Coynes in each Countrey, and the several currant peeces, and whatsoever he shall thinke meet to adde hereunto.

4 And because the memory is weake, and those who write much, are many times like the Clerkes that carry their learning in their Booke, not in their braine, let him constantly observe this, that whatsoever he sees or heares, he apply it to his use, and by discourse (though forced) make it his owne. Thus Students of Rhetoricke, at first seeking matter for words, rather then words for matter, at last attaine an easie stile flowing like a still River, and lay aside the affectation of words. Let nothing worth the knowledge passe his eyes or eares, which he draweth not to his owne possession in this sort. In the meane time, though he trust not to his papers, yet for the weakenes of memory, let him carefully note all rare observations; for hee lesse offends that writes many toyes, then he that omits one serious thing, and after when his judgement is more ripe, he shall distill Gold (as the Proverbe is) out of this dung of Ennius. Let him write these notes each day, at morne and at even in his Inne,

*Whatsoever
he sees or
heares he
must applye to
his owne use.*

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within writing Tables carried about him, and after at leasure into a paper booke, that many yeers after he may looke over them at his pleasure. But great caution must be had, especially in places of danger, how he carry about him these papers, the subject whereof, cannot but in many
[III. i. 13.] Places be offensive and perhaps dangerous, if once upon suspicion he chance to bee searched. Therefore as he sends his bookes and heavy things for carriage, halfe yeerely, either into his owne Country, or to some place in the way by which hee is to returne, there to bee kept for him, so hee shall doe well to send these paper bookes therewith. And for abundant caution, lest any thing he notes by the way, should in any place upon mischance prejudice him, he shall doe well to write such things in Ciphers and unknowne characters, being also ready to give a fained interpretation of them to any Magistrate, if neede be.

*A Trustie
friend who
will keepe
good his credit
must be left
at home.*

5 Also I advise him to leave a trusty friend at home, who will keepe good credit with the Merchant that furnisheth him with mony abroad, lest his friends ill paiments leese him his credit, and so drive him to disgracefull wants. For if his friend pay readily, nothing shall be wanting to him, but Merchants will never trust those which breake their day. And for his exchanges, and other waies of receiving monies, at fit times and places, as also for the value of gold and silver coynes, let him reade the former last Chapter of the first Part, treating thereof.

*What
quantities of
monye will
suffice.*

Fifty or sixty pounds sterling yeerely, were sufficient at the time when I was beyond sea, to beare the charge of a Travellers diet, necessary apparrell, and two journies yeerely, in the Spring and Autumne, and also to serve him for moderate expences of pleasure, so that hee imitated not the Germans, who drinke and banquet as much abroad, as at home, nor the Italians, who live they among Christians or Pagans, yet cannot restraine their incontineney; nor the Polonians, who being perhaps the sonnes of Castellani, (I meane such as have the keeping

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of Castles, or like entertainements from the King onely for their life), commonly spend more prodigally in Italy, and like places, then at home, so as many times they spend their whole patrimony abroad. In which kind I cannot but commend our Countrimen, who howsoever at home they may have spent prodigally, yet going beyond seas, rather dispose their expences to repaire this former prodigalite then otherwise, and practise the rule of the Poet,

Intra fortunam quemque manere suam :

Each man his cote to fit,
As his cloth will permit.

But I returne to the purpose, & since it is convenient, for him that travels, to make two journies yeerely in the Spring and Autumne, and since in these journies his expences will be greater, then when he abides in Cities, as wel for the hiring of Coches and horses, as for his diet in common Innes, hee must bee carefull to take the opportunity to moderate his expences, when hee settles himselfe to abide some moneths in any place. They which have servants to attend them, must make accompt, that each servant shal spend as much for his diet as himselfe, especially in Germany, where passengers of all sorts sit at the same Table, and pay the like shot.

*Spring and
Autumne
best for
Travellers.*

For the danger of security of carrying money about him in all parts, I shall speake at large in the three & twentieth precept of this Chapter. In generall, he must bee warie not to shew any quantity of money about him, since Theeves have their spies commonly in all Innes, to inquire after the condition of passengers. If his journey be long, let him not tell (no not to his companions in his journey) the furthest end thereof, but rather from Citie to Citie professe that he intends to goe no further. Suppose he bee at Paris, if he professe his journey is from thence to Rome, it is all one as if he shewed his purse, since all men know, he must have great store of money for that journey, so as it were more fit he should professe

*Store of money
must not be
showne.*

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onely to goe for Strassburg in Germany, or for Lyons in France, and when he shall come thither, he shall either perhaps have new consorts of his journey, or else may professe to his former consorts, that there he met with letters, which force him to goe further.

*Cosmography
usefull for
Travellers as
also Corog-
raphy.*

[III. i. 14.]

6 That hee may the better premeditate those things which formerly I advised to bee observed by him, and the like, he shall doe well before he set forth, to get some skill (at least superficiall) in the Art of Cosmography, for if he be altogether ignorant thereof, he shal, like a blind folded man, not know where he is, or which foot first to set forward. No man can reade with profit and pleasure the voyages of other men, old Histories, and the marching of Armies, except hee have some skill in this Art, how much lesse shall he be able himselfe to performe such actions, if he have no skill therein. I containe under this Art, Corography, and the knowledge of those Kingdomes which he is to passe, they being most necessary for his use. Also it is fit for him, aswell to observe the old as the new names of each place, which gives great light in the reading of old writers.

*The Traveller
ought to make
his will before
he take his
Journey.*

7 For the Precepts before hee set forth, in the last place I advise him to make his will, which no wise man staying at home will have unmade. In which I commend our Progenitors, who made their wills if they tooke a journey but from Yorke to London, the same being much more necessary in this our age, when we undertake far more dangerous journies. And that the rather, for that there be many difficulties in understanding the lawes and manners of making willes in forraine parts, and the force they will beare at home, besides that very death, and that in a strange place, is like too much to distract the minde, though it be not afflicted in that sad hower with worldly cogitations.

*What he
ought to do
when first he
doeth beginne
his journey.*

8 When he hath once begun his journey, since at the first step the ignorance of language doth most oppresse him, and hinder the fruite he should reape by his journey, while he being as it were deafe and dounb, and astonished

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with this Babylonian confusion of tongues, can neither aske unknowne things, nor understand other mens speeches, by which hee might learne much. My advice is, that in each Kingdome which he desires most to know, and the language whereof is of most use in his owne Countrie, he goe directly to the best Citie for the puritie of language, namely, in Germany to Leipzig, Strasburg, or Heidelberg, and in France to Orleans, &c., where having learned the language, at least as much as is necessary to understand, and to bee understood, he shall make his next journy more profitable by discourse, and in the same make his language more perfect. Hearing much increaseth knowledge, what canst thou learne, if at least thou understandest not those who should instruct thee, howsoever thou beest hardly, or not at all understood by them, except thou hast an interpreter with thee, which a man of small meanes cannot maintaine, and yet in that case doth the rich, onely borrow his knowledge, and take it at the second hand.

*Languages
good to be
learned.*

I confesse, that rich men (having such consorts, and making good use of them) may with more ease attaine knowledge, while they have the helpe of other mens Eyes, Eares, Feete, and understandings, and may sucke from them the Quintessence of their observations. But poore Cleanthes, while in the day time he drew water to gaine his living, did by night more earnestly thirst after knowledge, and gaine it, which all rich men doe not, whose wits use to be corrupted with their fortunes. And I would think that even for these rich men, it were more honourable and safe, to be able to use their owne sences and under standings, then other mens, since we see that Princes Ambassadors and Peeres of other Realmes are more welcome and esteemed, and lesse subject to contempt, if they doe but only get the formes of saluting and calling for necessaries in the language of the Country, as if they would not seeme strangers.

*Rich men may
with more
ease attaine
knowledge.*

And first in the learning of a Language, labour to know the grammer rules thereof, that thy selfe mayst

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*Grammar
rules to be
learnt.*

know whether thou speakest right or no. I meane not the curious search of those rules, but at least so much, as may make thee able to distinguish Numbers, Cases, and Moodes. Merchants, Women, and Children, neglecting these rules, and rushing into the rash practice of Languages, doe many times pronounce the tongue, and speake common speeches, more gracefully then others, but they seldome write the tongue well, and alwaies forget it in short time, wanting the practice. On the contrary, they who learne the rules, while they be attentive to the congruity of speaking, perhaps doe lesse gracefully pronounce the tongue, but in the meane time they both speake and write pure language, and never so forget it, as they may not with small labour and practice recover it againe.

*Choice
Phrases.*

[III. i. 15.]

In the next place, I advise him to gather the choice phrases, that hee may speake and write more eloquently, and let him use himselfe not to the translated formes of speech, but to the proper phrases of the tongue; for every language in this kinde hath certaine properties of speaking, which would be most absurd, being literally translated into another tongue. To this end the stranger must reade those Bookes, which are best for speeches in familiar conference, in which kind, as also for the instruction of his soule, I would commend unto him the Holy Scriptures, but that among the Papists they are not to be had in the vulgar tongue, neither is the reading of them permitted to Laymen, and were not the phrases so known to those who use to read them, as they would be understood by discretion without knowledge. Therefore to this purpose hee shall seeke out the best familiar Epistles for his writing, and I thinke no Booke better for his discourse then *Amadis of Gaule*, for the Knights errant, and the Ladies of Courts, doe therein exchange Courtly speeches, and these Bookes are in all Languages translated by the Masters of eloquence. In the third place I advise him to professe Pythagoricall silence, and to the end he may learne true pronuntiation, and the

*What bookes
are most
convenient.*

Silence.

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properties of each language, not to be attained but by long observation and practice, that he for a time listen to others, before he adventure to speake. As in generall to all living in forraigne parts, and desiring to search out the knowledge of them, not to be had so well from any, as from the Inhabitants, so particularly to him, that would learne the language, my counsell is, that hee shunne for the time the conversation of his owne Countrey-men, onely visiting them in their lodgings, and that not often nor long, but that he live not in the house with any of them: For the Dutch Travellers conversing, drinking, and lodging with their owne Countreymen, hardly attaine any small skill, and never the perfect use of any forraigne Language, be it never so easie. So as my selfe remember one of them, who being reprehended, that having been thirty yeeres in Italy hee could not speake the Language, he did merrily answere in Dutch; Ah lieber was kan man doch in dreissig Jaher lehrnen? Alas good Sir, what can a man learne in thirty yeeres? But the true cause of his not speaking the tongue, was his perpetuall conversing with his Countrey-men. I professe freely, that I never observed any to live lesse together in forraigne parts, then the English, nor any who made more profit of their travell then they: but I returne to the purpose. When he that desires to learne any Language, hath observed the former rules, then let him hier some skilfull man to teach him, and to reprove his errours, not passing by any his least omission: And let him not take it ill, that any man should laugh at him, for that will more stirre him up to endeavour to learne the tongue more perfectly, to which end he must converse with Weomen, Children, and the most talkative people; and he must cast of all clownish bashfulnesse, for no Man is borne a Master in any Art. I say not, that he himselfe should rashly speake, for in the beginning he shall easily take ill formes of speaking, and hardly forget them once taken. The very Artificers of Polonia can speake Latin, but most rudely and falsly; and I speake of experience, that the

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Schollers of our Universities, conversant in reading Cicero, howsoever they seldome speake Latin, but onely in disputations, yea, and shunne the occasions of speaking it, yet when they come abroad, and are forced necessarily to make use of the latin tongue, they doe perhaps at first speake it lesse readily, but in short practice they speake it more eloquently and more easily, then the said Polakes, or any other abroad, who have practised the tongue from their young yeeres, and so they might speake readily, neither cared for the quantity of sillables, nor the purity of phrase, nor the strict keeping of Grammer Rules. Moreover I speake by experience, that it is commendable at home before setting forth, to learne the reading and understanding of a language, and the writing thereof, yet cannot then bee profitable to practice the speaking of the tongue, till hee can have the foresaid commodities in that part where it is naturall. And for this cause, I prescribed Pythagoricall silence, and to listen to others, before the practice of speech, and to take more care to speake well, then much: but at last the learner must beginne, and hee that never did a thing ill, can never doe it well.

Languages.

But whereas many boast, and have the fame to speake many tongues, aswell as their mother tongue, I doe not thinke but know, that it is false. The French have a good Proverbe.

[III. i. 16.] Entre les aveugles, les borgnes sont les Roys :

Among the blinde, the pore blind are the Kings.

And thus they which have no skill in tongues, will boldly say, that this or that man doth perfectly, and without stamering, speake many tongs. But howsoever a stranger living some six or more yeeres in any forraigne part, may perhaps speake that tongue as perfectly as his own, yet he that travelleth in few yeeres, through many Kingdoms, and learns many languages, shall never speake all, nor many of them, with naturall pronuntiation, and without errours, and some stamering, and slow-

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nesse in speech. Yea he that learnes one tongue alone, and that with many yeeres practice, shall more hardly attaine the perfect properties and elegancies thereof, then an unskillfull man would thinke. For Theophrastus having lived many yeeres at Athens, was knowne to bee a stranger, of an old woman selling herbes, onely by the pronuntiation of one sillable. For my owne particular, I remember that I passed from Genoa to Milan on foote, in a disguised habit, and that in an Inne not farre from Pavia, I met an Englishman. Wee sat downe to supper, where he voluntarily and unasked, did rashly professe himselfe to be a Dutchman, whereupon I saluted him in Dutch familiarly, till hee betraied manifestly his ignorance in that language, and excused himselfe that he was no Dutchman, but borne upon the confines of France, where they speake altogether French. Then I likewise spake to him in French, till he was out of countenance, for his want of skill in that language. So as my selfe being a man in his case, dissembling my Country and quality, ceased further to trouble him. And wee after discoursing in the Italian tong, he chanced to speake these words; Io mi repentina, whereas an Italian would have said, Io mi ne pentiva. And by this little difference of adding the sillable re, I knew him to be an Englishman, for I had found before that he was no Frenchman, which Nation together with the English addes that sillable. Thus when supper was ended, I tooke him aside, and spoke English to him, whereat hee rejoyced, and imbracing mee, swore that he had been in the stable, and commanded his man to make ready his horses, and would presently have rid away, if I had not discovered my selfe to him. And so wee lodged in one chamber and bed. See how small a thing will make it manifest, that we are not that Country men whereof we speake the language.

The knowledge of tongues hath ever been highly esteemed. Aulus Gellius writes, that Mithridates spake the languages of two and twenty Provinces, which were subject to him, so as he never spake with any subject by

*An English-
man's
Knowledge.*

*The
Knowledge of
tongues hath
been ever
highly
esteemed.*

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*The skill in
languages of
Queene
Elizabeth.*

[III. i. 17.]

*Note for
Englishmen.*

an Interpreter. Themistocles in one yeere got so much knowledge in the Persian tongue, as hee was able to speake with Artaxerxes without an Interpreter. Ennius said, he had three hearts, meaning three languages. Claudius the Emperour put a Grecian Prince from being a Judge, because he could not speake Latine, and sent him into Italy to learne the Tongue, as Suetonius writes. To conclude, who hath not heard the worthy fame of that Heroicall Woman, Elizabeth late Queene of England, among whose rare vertues, her skill in Languages was not the least, being able to conferre with most Ambassadors or Princes in their owne tongue. And whereas some Kings thinke it a base thing to speake in a strange tongue, and take it for honour, if they can induce any Ambassadors to speake their tongue, they seeme to me like unto those, who being poore and proud, speake much against rich apparrell, and extoll stufes and furnitures of small price, that they may seeme to doe that of election and judgement, which they doe onely for want. Yet I would not be so understood, as if I thought fit, that one Ambassador at a treaty, should consent to have the same written in the language of another Ambassador, but rather that it should be written in a third tongue, equally knowne to them both, as in the Italian Tongue, the Treaty being betweene England and France. But in the meane time, I thinke it honourable to the most mighty King, to be able to entertaine familiar speech with any Ambassador or Prince of neighbour Kingdomes, though lesse potent then his owne. Let us be encouraged by these noble foresaid examples, to labour diligently, that we may attaine this rich Jewell of speaking Tongues. In the last place I advise the Traveller, that if he can have leasure, he joyne (for greater ornament) the learning to write the hand of each Nation, with the knowledge of each tongue, especially of that which is most of use in his Countrey.

9 For Englishmen, they shall doe well at their first setting forth, to passe into Germany, and there spend

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some time: for since we use too much the helpe of our servants, so as we will scarcely make our selves ready, and since wee use to despise the company of meane people at bed or board, there wee may learne to serve our selves, where hee that comes into a shoemakers shop, must find out the shooes will fit him, and put them on himselfe. There we may learne to admit the company of meane men, where many times poore fellowes, yea, very Coachmen shal be thrust to be our bedfellowes, and that when they are drunke; and like men will often sit by us at the Table, and in some places (as most part of Low-Germany) they drinke alwaies round, so as wee shall be sure to pledge like men, and drinke to them in the same cup; and if wee have a servant of our owne, would rather have him sit next us, then any other. There wee may learne to feed on homely meat, and to lie in a poore bed. There among many other things wee may learne, to moderate our aptnesse to quarrell, whereof I will speake more in the proper place. To conclude, all in generall that passe Germany as strangers, are free among that honest people from all cosinages and deceipts, to which in other parts they are subject above others, especially unexperienced.

10 As it is good before his setting forth, to be reconciled with his enemies, that they may practice no ill against him, or his friends in his absence, and that his mind may be more religiously composed against all events; so while he is abroad, let him often write to his friends of his health, which precept if Thesius had not forgotten, hee had not beene Authour of his most deere Fathers death, by bearing the false signe of a blacke sayle: And this is no lesse good to himselfe, then to his friends, since he that writes often, shall often receive letters for answer: for one hand washeth another, and the Poet saith well;

*Reconcilement
with enemies.*

Ut ameris Amabilis esto,

Who wilt beloved be, that thou bist loving see.

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For indeed, there can hardly be given a more certain signe of love or contempt, then the frequent, rare, or no writing, or especially answering of Letters: whereof the Italians have a Proverbe.

Chi scrive a chi non responde,
O egli è matto, o egli ha di bisogno:

Who writes to him, that answers not againe,
He is a foole, or neede doth him constraine.

*The scituation
of cities ought
to be observed.*

11 When he wil observe the scituation of any City, let him (if he may without jelousie of the Inhabitants,) first climbe one of the highest steeples, where having taken the generall scituation of the City, he shall better remember in order the particular things to be seene in the City. To which end, let him carry about him a Dyall, which may shew him the North, South, East, and West, which knowne, he shall lesse erre in the description of the City, and this he may observe publicly onely with his eyes, for avoiding of jelousie, and after, being retired into his Inne, may draw it in paper, if he thinke good. And lest for the want of a guide, to shew the markeable things in each City, he should omit any thing worth sight, let him confidently visit some chiefe Doctor, or man of principall account, (especially in Germany, where they are most affable): For if he shall say, that hee comes to see them, as the living monuments of that City, I will be bold to promise, that they will give him a guide, to shew him any thing worth sight, and to instruct him in such things as are fit for him to know: For as Weomen easily beleeeve such as tell them that they are faire, though indeed they bee deformed, so men of best quality will easily beleeeve, that their name is knowne among strangers, and they take these visitations for honours done unto them, yea, many (especially in some places) are vitiously proud, that their neighbours should see strangers thus visit them.

*Companions
and countrey-
men.*

12 Many desire to have their Countreymen and friends

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to bee their companions in these their journeys: And it is well said;

Comes facundus in via pro vehiculo,

[III. i. 18.]

A pleasant consort by the way,
Is like a Coach that glides away.

But why should he not rather desire consorts of the same Nation, of whom he may learne the language, and all other things worthy to be observed. My selfe could never see any profitably spend their time abroad, who flocked together with their owne Countreymen, neither doe I attribute the little proficiency of the Germans, and their giving themselves to drinke, even amongst the sober Italians, to any thing more, then to their living together in forraigne parts. For an Italian, conversing abroad with Italians, shall never learne bashfull chastity: How shall any man cast off a vice proper to his Nation, if he doe not disuse it by little and little, which he shall hardly doe among his Countrey-men inclined thereunto. Neither is there danger of learning forraigne vices by leaving to converse with his Countrey-men, so hee propound to himselfe the foresaid end to learne vertues and cast off vices, and if he bend himselfe wholly to attaine that end. Moreover, in places of danger, for difference of Religion, or proclaimed warre, whosoever hath his Countrey-man or friend for his companion, doth much increase his danger, aswell for the confession of his companion, if they chance to be apprehended, as for other accidents, since he shall be accomptable and drawne into danger, aswell by his companions words or deeds, as by his owne. And surely there happening many dangers and crosses by the way, many are of such intemperate affections, as they not onely diminish the comfort they should have from this consort, but even as Dogs, hurt by a stone, bite him that is next, not him that cast the stone, so they may perhaps out of these crosses grow to bitterness of words betwene themselves, yea, sometimes filthily

*Objections
why Consorts
of the same
nation are not
to be chosen.*

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end their old friendship with new injuries, if not in single combates.

Besides, if this deare friend and consort should happen to dye by the way, and if other ill accidents should increase this evill, whereof many may be imagined, as namely, if by dying among enemies or Pagans, hee cannot have so much as the honour of a grave; surely I speake by experience, nothing can bee added to this calamity. This griefe threatens sicknesse unto thee, and to how many ills that State is subject in forraigne parts, I shall shew in the Precept of preserving health. And this event will take from thee all the pleasure of remembring thy dangers past, after thou returnest home, yea, will make that bitter unto thee, which useth to bee most comfortable to others. Therefore I commend the English, who withdraw themselves from consorting with their Countri-men abroad, not shunning them unnaturally out of hate, but onely lodging in divers houses, and onely spending some howers of the weeke in their company to nourish acquaintance, that they may bestow the rest of the time among those of the same Country wherein they live, and so better their language, and learne the state of the Countrie. For my part, if I were to suffer ill, I had rather be alone, then have a friend partner with me, howsoever the Poet saith,

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

The miserable man doth grieve the lesse,
If he have partners in his sad distresse.

Animadver : Which is to bee understood of enemies, or unknowne partners, for I cannot thinke that my torment could bee asswaged by the like miserie of my friend. Others object, that it is the unspeakeable comfort of marriage, that man and wife like well paired Heyfers, beare all burthens together. Surely if other kinds of ill could bee divided into equall parts, as burthens may, I might bee of their opinion, but many kindes of ill are like the soule, which is all in the whole body, and all in every part

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thereof, neither is the torment of the soule eased, by the bodies suffering with it. Therefore if I were to suffer poverty, banishment, or torment, I had rather bee a single man, then married, since the compassion of my wives and childrens suffering with me, would infinitely [III. i. 19.] increase my misery.

These things being granted, I confesse it followes, (for of contraries the consequence is contrary) that the Traveller is to impart his good successes to his friends, whereof Cicero in the dreame of Scipio so disputes, as if a man seeing all the pleasures of Paradice, could take no delight therein, if he were alone, and had no man with whom he might communicate them.

But in conclusion, since Travellers meet with more dangers then pleasures, it is most fit for them to take such consorts abroad, as the way yeelds, and to deferre the imparting of their good successes to their friends, till their happy returne home, at which time, as their absence hath sharpened their friends desire to see them, so the discourse of these pleasant accidents, may sweeten their conversation.

13 In stead of a companion, let the Traveller have alwayes with him some good Booke in his pocket, as wee reade that Alexander the Great laied Homer under his pillow, and let this Booke be either such, as fits his ends or study, or such as containeth precepts or sentences, which by daily use he desires to make familiar unto him, alwaies bewaring that it treat not of the Common-wealth, the Religion thereof, or any Subject that may be dangerous to him: By this companion he shall make the solitude of the Innes and many irkesome things lesse unpleasing to him.

*What Bookes
are most
profitable, and
what
dangerous.*

14 As we reade that Alexander the great set on fier with his owne hands the wanes of carriage taken from Darius, and that by his example all the Macedonians cast away the spoyles they had taken from the Persians, lest they should hinder them in their expedition against India. So the Traveller (comparing small things with great)

*Onlye things
which are
most necessarye
are to be
carried.*

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must carry onely most necessary things with him, especially in such places as the Low-Countries, where boates and waggons are changed many times in one dayes journey, and where (as also in Italy) they bring him not to his Inne, but onely to the water side, or to the gates of the City: for in such places heavy carriages will be a great burthen or charge to him.

*In Germany
and Italy the
best Innes are
to be enquired
after.*

15 Let him enquire after the best Innes, especially in Germany, and also at night in Italy; for he may take a short dinner in any Inne of Italy, so hee lodge safely at night. In the best Innes, with moderate and ordinary expences, he shall avoid the frauds and injuries of knaves, and shall sleepe safely, both for his person and the goods hee hath with him. In all Innes, but especially in suspected places, let him bolt or locke the doore of his chamber: let him take heed of his chamber fellowes, and alwayes have his Sword by his side, or by his bed side; let him lay his purse under his pillow, but alwayes foulded with his garters, or some thing hee first useth in the morning, lest hee forget to put it up before hee goe out of his chamber: And to the end he may leave nothing behind him in his Innes, let the visiting of his chamber, and gathering his things together, be the last thing he doth, before hee put his foote into the stirrup.

Summary.

16 Some advise that a Traveller should learne to swimme, but I thinke that skill is more for pleasure at home, then of use abroad, and yeelds small comfort or helpe in a storme at Sea. Let other men have their free opinion, as I have mine, yet I know that Cæsar delivered himselfe and his Commentaries from perishing, by his skill in swimming, but neither are all as fortunate as Cæsar, neither are all Seas like that of Africke. My selfe have knowne many excellent swimmers, whereof some in the sight of the wished Land, have perished by the rage of the Sea waves, and others have sunke by the waight of their fearefull companions knowing their skill, and so taking hold of them, while at the same time others, having not the least skill in swimming, but trusting to

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the hold of broken parts of the shippe, or light chests, have escaped that danger, and came safely to shore: But if any man put his trust in swimming, let him conceale his skill, least others trusting therein take hold of him, and make him perish with them.

*Concealement
of swimming
is safest.*

17 In like manner some perswade a Traveller to use himselfe first to hardnesse, as abstaining from wine, fasting, eating grosse meates, and going journies on foote. But in my opinion, they shall better beare these things when necessity forceth, who cherish their body while they may. Neither doe I commend them, who in forraigne parts take journies on foote, especially for any long way. Let them stay at home, and behold the World in a Mappe, who have not meanes for honest expences; for such men, while they basely spare cost, doe so blemish their estimation, as they can enjoy no company, but that of such poore fellows as goe on foote with them, who can no way instruct them, or better their understanding. Besides, that by wearying their bodies, they are apt to fall into sicknesse, and basely expose themselves to the dangers of wild beasts, theeves, and their poore companions. I dare bee bold to say, that all murthers in Germany by the high way, are committed upon footemen; for they who are well brought up, when they are wearied by going on foote, will spend more to cherish themselves in their Innes, and make longer staies therein, by which meanes they not onely spend almost as much, as if they had hired horses or coches, but also bewray their plenty of mony to their foote companions, who being needy, it oftens happens, even among the Germans otherwise of honest disposition, that they plot mischief against them, which once intended, the vast solitudes of the Woods in Germany, offer many opportunities to put their wicked purpose in practice. And it is a hard remedy to be prescribed to one of good education, that after his weary journey, he should also suffer in his Inne. Moreover, the Germans account of strangers according to their outward habit, and their bold or dejected countenance,

Hardnesse.

[III. i. 20.]

*Of Riding
and going on
foote.*

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and doe altogether dispise passengers on foote. To conclude, the solitudes of the way, by reason of few Townes or Villages, make a journey on foote most tedious in Germany. But in Italy, if any where, this going on foote may bee borne with, by reason of the pleasant and fruitfull fields, the frequent Cities, Townes, and Villages, the safety from theeves, (except it be upon the confines of Princes, where horsemen and footemen are in like danger) and by reason of the Italians opinion, who respect a mans behaviour, not his habit. Alwaies provided that these journies bee short, and sweetned with a pleasant companion. But for my part, I thinke the best going on foote, is (according to the French Proverb) when a man leades his horse in his hand, and may mount him at pleasure, and I must confesse, that I have observed some of our Countrie men to erre in this kinde, of whom though few undertake these foote journies, yet they generally thinke, that it is a point of frugalitie to suffer in forraigne parts, as if our abode there should be lesse profitable unto us, except we should (like Menedemus) vex our selves with unnecessary sufferings of ill.

*Travellers
must have
great care to
preserve their
health.*

18 The Traveller must have great care to preserve his health, neither is it the last point of wisdom to follow the advice of Cicero, who bids him bee an old man quickly, that desires to bee an old man long. But most of all is this care necessarie for a Traveller: for those that are sicke by the way, suffer many discommodities in all places, and our Country men in Italy and Spaine runne high dangers, where howsoever being in health, they may discreetly shunne the snares of the Inquisition, yet when they are sicke, Confession, the Sacrament in one kind, and the adoration thereof as changed into the body of Christ, and Extreme unction at the point of death, are thrust upon them by the Priests. Men ready to die can ill dissemble, neither is any waight so heavy, as that of a wounded conscience, wherewith if the sicke man bee so affected, as hee professeth himselfe to bee of

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the Reformed Religion, then the Phisition and the Apothecarie are forbidden to helpe him, and very Kitchin phisicke is denied him by the Priests command, and if hee recover, hee shall bee sure to bee brought into the Inquisition: but if hee die, his body shall be buried in the high-way, not in any Church-yard: of which events, and the examples thereof, I shall speake more largely in the Treaty of Religion in Italy. Formerly I have shewed that sickly men are unfit for this course of life.

Now the preservation of health consists in the use of sixe things, namely, of Ayre, Dyet, Purging, Exercise, Sleepe, and Accidents, or Passions of the mind. To shunne the incommodities of the Aire, hee must respect the seasons of the yeere fit for journies, and the changes of divers climes. The Spring and Autumne are the most fit seasons for journeys, and he shall doe well, to goe first to cold climes in summer times, and to hot climes in the winter, that hee may use his body by little and little to these changes. They who take journies in Countries continually covered with snow, use to weare some greene thing before their eyes, to comfort the sight, and to carry hot odors to comfort the braine. In Moscovy subject to great cold, Men cover their neckes, eares, and vitall parts, with furies; and in time of snow, weare a cot or cover for their noses, and also rubbe their noses and faces with snow, before they enter into the hot stove, lest sudden heate should putrifie the same, as men of good credit report.

On the contrary, in hot regions, to avoide the beames of the Sunne, in some places (as in Italy) they carry Umbrels, or things like a little Canopy over their heads, but a learned Physician told me, that the use of them was dangerous, because they gather the heate into a pyramidall point, and thence cast it downe perpendicularly upon the head, except they know how to carry them for avoyding that danger: Also in the hot clymes of Turkey, they were thicke garments, but loose, and a thick Tulbant

*Preservation
of health
consists in
Six things.*
[III. i. 21.]

*To avoide the
beames of the
Sunne in hot
regions.*

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upon their heads, but hollow, and borne up from their heads, and they shave their heads, all to make the Sunnebeames to have lesse power upon their bodies.

*Of Diet and
Aire.*

Touching the change of diet, as also of the Aire, a young man may change them by little and little, but to old men the least change of them is dangerous. Therefore let the Traveller use himselfe before his journey to these changes by little and little, but in no extremity, which he had better endure onely for the time when necessity forceth them, using the best remedies, as Antidotes against poyson, namely warme clothes against cold, and the like: And in this he must use moderation, for little ill doth little hurt. In the morning before he takes his journey, let him take a small breakfast, that ill smells may not offend him; let him dine sparingly, lest his afternoones motion hinder digestion: for the precept to make a light supper, is for those that stay at home. In his dinner, often drinking and supping warme brothes, helps the purging faculty: The seasons of the yeere, and the nature of the clime, are to be respected in diet, aswell as in the change of Ayre. In Winter and cold Regions, let him take hot comfortable things, but in Summer and hot Regions, let him take things that coole the blood: It is dangerous to drinke when his body is heated, except hee first make water, and wash his mouth, and when he is heated, let him not suddenly expose himselfe to cold. In his Inne let him have care to drie his feet and necke, if they be wet. The rules of health are infinite, therefore let him take the Physicians advice, according to the state of his body: I will onely adde, that some very curiously thinke the Art of Cookery necessary for a Traveller: It is not amisse that hee have the skill to make a Cawdell, or dresse some dish hee liketh. Homer bringeth in Achilles dressing his meate in the Campe, and wee reade that King Antigonus did see the Poet Antagoras seething a Conger in the Campe, and said to him; that Homer of Agamemnon spent not his time in dressing Congers,

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who answered; that Agamemnon used not to goe about the Campe to observe who dressed Congers: And indeed this Art is more necessary for a Souldier then a Traveller: For the Traveller useth not to goe into barbarous regions, but to civill places, where for the most part hee findes Ministers for this purpose, but the warre wastes all Countries, and carries desolation with it.

Touching the purging of the body, as all repletion is ill, and Socrates well advised to take heed of those meates, which invited men to eate when they were not hungry, so when the humours are growne through intemperancy, it is good to purge them. He that feels any change in his body, let him not neglect it, but take physike, which doing, he may with a small remedy prevent great sicknesse, and keepe his body in health afterwards, not oppressing himselfe with meate, nor enflaming his blood with violent motion. This I speake of experience, for my selfe thus taking physike once or twice, had my health in forraigne parts for seven yeeres, after which time at last, care which brings gray heires had almost killed me by grieffe, conceived for the death of my most deare Brother in Asia. In the morning and at noone let him offer thus to purge naturally, in which nature, for the most part yeelds to custome. Nothing is a more certaine signe of sicknesse growing, then the obstruction of the body, against which in Italy I tooke each morning, while I was so disposed, a spoonefull of the sirrop of Corinthian Currants. Damasco Prunes boyled, and other moist things, as Butter and Hony, are good for this purpose, as a German Phisitian writes, whom I follow in this point. And since my selfe (God be thanked) was never sickly, neither have the Art of Phisike, and since I professe in the beginning of this Booke, not onely to relate things observed, but also those I have gathered by reading, I trust I may without offence adde the said Doctors advice for Travellers instruction to my observations. My experience hath taught mee, that it is most dangerous to stop the Flux of the body, which experience

*Of physike
and purging.*

[III. i. 22.]

*Dangerous to
stop the flux.*

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*Nothing better
than Rest.*

I dearely bought, by the losse of my foresaid Brother, and there is no better remedy for it, then rest. But if it continue many daies, and too much weaken the body, Rice well boyled, hard Egges, Water tempered with Steele, red and sowrish Wines, and Marmalate, are good to bind the body.

Note.

Exercise.

Touching exercise, since it must be gentle, and onely till we raise colour in our faces, not til we sweate, it may seeme ridiculous to prescribe the same to Travellers, who are almost continually in motion. Therefore I will onely admonish the Traveller, to avoide extremity therein, and that he neither drinke when he is hot, nor suddenly expose himselfe to cold, and that when he is extremely cold, hee likewise warme himselfe by little and little, not suddenly at a great fier, or in a hot stove, and that after dinner he rest a while.

Sleepe.

Touching sleepe, breeding by excesse raw humours, and watching that dries the body, they are happy who keepe the meane, and they are the Phisitians friends, who delight in extremes, and to their counsell I commend them.

*Accidents or
motions of the
minde.*

In the last place, touching accidents or motions of the minde, I will onely say, that mirth is a great preserver of health, and sadnesse a very plague thereunto. The bodie followes the temper of the mind, as the temper of the mind followes that of the body. My selfe have been twice sicke to death in forraigne parts, first when I lost my dearest Brother Henry in Asia (whose death I must ever lament with the same passion, as David did that of Absolon, who wished to redeeme his life with his owne death; and surely I freely professe, his life had been more profitable then mine, both to our friends, and to the Common-wealth.) The second time I was sicke to death at home in England, upon a lesse just but like cause, namely, grieve. Thus being at the gates of death twice for grieve, I found the Poet to say most truly, that care maketh gray headed; and Seneca no lesse truly, that he who hath escaped Stix, and the

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infernall Hagg, to him in care hee will shew Hell it selfe.

To speake something of preserving health by Sea: He that would not vomit at all, let him some dayes before he take ship, and after at Sea, diminish his accustomed meat, and especially drinke, and let him take the following remedies against ill smelles and weakenesse of stomack. Some advise, that he should drinke Sea water mingled with his Wine, and some more sparing, that he drinke Sea water alone, which dries cold humours, and shuts the Orifice of the belly and stomack. But I thinke they doe ill, who altogether restraine vomiting, for no doubt that working of the Sea is very healthfull. Therefore I would rather advise him, to use his accustomed diet, till he have sailed one day or two into the Maine, or till he feele his body weake, and thinkes it enough purged, then let him take meates agreeable to the Sea in small proportion, as powdred Beefe, Neates-tongues dried, and like salt meates, and after eating, let him seale his stomake with Marmalate. Let him often eate Pomegranates, Quinces, Corianders prepared, and such meates as are sharpe, and comfort the stomake, and let him drinke strong Wines, and sometimes hot Waters, but sparingly, and let him dip a piece of bisket in his Wine. And to restraine the extremity of vomiting, till he be somewhat used to the Sea, let him forbear to looke upon the waves of the Sea, or much to lift up his head. To avoid the ill smelles of the ship, hee may in Summer carry red Roses, or the dried leaves thereof, Lemmons, Oranges, and like things of good odour, and in Winter hee may carry the roote or leaves of Angelica, Cloves, Rosemary, and the foresaid Lemmons, Oranges, and Rose leaves. To conclude, if there bee no Phisitian in the ship, let him that is sickly, take counsell of the Phisitian at home, for the remedies of that weakenesse to which himselfe is most subject, and of diseases most proper to Seamen, especially if he take any long voiage.

*Of preserving
health by Sea.*

[III. i. 23.]

19 To teach the Traveller how to behave himselfe in

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*To teach the
Traveller to
behave in
forraigne
parts.*

forraigne parts, is a large and intricate precept, whereof I will handle many branches in this, and the next following Precepts. It is an old saying,

Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more,
Cum fueris alibi, vivito more loci.

Being at Rome, the Roman manners use,
And otherwhere, each places custome chuse.

Surely a Traveller must live after other mens fashion, not his owne, alwaies avoiding extremities by discretion, according to the Italian Proverb,

Paese dove vai, usa comme truovi.

The Country where thou goest,
Use thou as doe the most.

Now in this so great varietie of fashions in all Nations, it seemes impossible to give any set rules, since the French say well,

Tant de payis, tant' de guises.

As many Nations, So many fashions.

*Cautions for
Travellers.*

And since no man is able to number these divers events, first, I advise the Traveller in generall to be so wary, as he adventure not to doe any new thing, till the example of others give him confidence. Let him reprove nothing in another mans house, much lesse in a strange Commonwealth, in which kind it is not amisse to seeme dumb or tongue-tied, so he diligently imploy his eyes and cares, to observe al profitable things. Let him be curteous, even somewhat towards the vice of curtesie, to his Host, the children, and his fellow sojourners in the house. I doe not advise him to imitate them, who will put off their hat to a very Dog; for in all actions basenesse must bee shunned, and decency embraced, but it is veniall somewhat to offend in the better part, applying our selves to the divers natures of men. If hee shall apply himselfe to their manners, tongue, apparrell and diet with whom he lives, hee shall catch their loves as it were with a

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fish-hooke. For diet, he needes lesse care, but for apparrell he must fit it to their liking; for it is a good precept aswell at home as abroad, to eate according to our owne appetite, but to bee apparrelled to other mens liking. I have observed the Germans and French in Italy, to live and converse most with their owne Countymen, disdain- ing to apply themselves to the Italians language, apparrell, and diet, and the English above all others, to subject themselves to the Lawes, customes, language, and apparrell of other Nations.

And hence it is that the conversation of the English abroad, is wonderfullie pleasing unto strangers. Onely because they are forced to dissemble their Countrie among Papists, I have found by experience, that other Nations, whose habit and name they take, have reaped the com- mendation of this their vertue; and it is certaine, that the Germanes, whom the English do often personate, have thereupon beene often prayed in forraigne parts for their temperance, and other vertues lesse proper to them. In the meane time the English who are thus pleasing for this vertue, while they dissemble their Countrie, are by other accidents lesse agreeable to the liking of strangers in divers places, when they confesse what Countrie-men they are: as in Italy for the difference of Religion; in the Low-Countries, for that many of them have gone away in their debts; in France and Scotland for the old hatred of both Nations: and in the Hans or sea-bordering Cities, for the many injuries they pretend to have received from English men of warre at Sea. Note.

Perhaps severe and froward censors may judge it an apish vice thus to imitate other nations, but in my opinion, this obsequiousnes of conversation, making us become all things to all men, deserves the opinion of a wise man, and one that is not subject to pride: but he must alwaies shunne extremity, lest while he affects to be affable, hee incurre the infamy of a flatterer.

20 He must be humble, so it be with decency, and Humilitie.

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without basenes; yet I thinke in Germany he shall doe well to seeme, but not to be proud, where they will take a man to be of base condition, if he be courteous and officious, as in reaching any thing to another, or doing like offices of service, and where they respect especially the outward habit, esteeming a frowning proud countenance, for grave and generous, lastly, where they that sit last at Table, pay the same shot with the first, who have the best meate, the cleanest beds, and best bedfellowes, which my selfe experienced, when I did travell from Stoade to the Low-Countries, in the disguised habit of a servant. In the meane time a stranger may not in any place altogether use the same boldnesse, as one of the same Nation may. On the contrary, I would rather offend in humility among the Italians, who respect nothing lesse, then the apparrell and outward habit, and are ready to observe with knee and cap a proud stranger, though they scoffe at him behind his backe, and the hosts will not faile to put their observance and reverence into the reckoning, making him pay for his pride. And from hence it is, that the Polonian Gentlemen (as I said before the summes of Governours of Castles for life), being of their owne nature proud, doe in the space of one or two yeeres spend all their patrimonie among these officious and flattering Italians, which they do not among the Germans, though many of them live long in their Universities, and give themselves to drinking as much as the Germans, though not so daily, and that because the Germans cannot in their nature so observe them and nourish their pride. In generall, he shall doe best, that keepes a meane;

*The Polonian
Gentlemen.*

—: neque Altum

Semper urgendo, neque dum procellas

Cautus horrescit, nimium permendo

Littus iniquum.

Not alwaies bearing to the Maine,

Nor while to shun stormes thou dost straine,

Beating too much on shore againe.

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Liberrall modesty is decent, but clownish bashfulnesse disgracefull.

21 And because the youths of our age, as they hold *The behaviour of the youths of our age.* civill behaviour to consist in bold speaking, and proud lookes, so they place the opinion of wisdom in the volubilitie of the tongue, I must remember the Traveller of two good Italian Proverbs:

In bocca serrata mai non entrò mosca.

Keepe close lips, and never feare,
Any flies should enter there.

La lingua non ha osso; ma fa rompere il dosso.

The tongue is bonelesse, yet doth make,
The broken backbone oft to ake.

It is an old saying, sometimes it repents to have spoken, never to have held thy peace, therefore let him have a slow tongue, let his mind bee locked up, but his forehead bee cleare and chearefull. Let him speake sparingly, and seldome speake of his owne common-wealth, private estate, or good qualities, which otherwise knowne will give him more grace, then his owne boasting. Nothing doth more preserve a Traveller from falling into dangers, or sooner deliver him in any danger, then the moderate discreete use of his tongue. It is an old proverb, that men go to Rome by asking the way of those they meete, but I may say, that the way to goe thither, and to returne safely thence, is silence. The Italians say well,

Assai sa, chi nulla sa, se tacer' sa.

[III. i. 25.]

Who knowes no thing, yet knowes his fill,
To hold his peace if he hath skill.

There is great Art to shunne talkative companions, or *Note.* not to seeme to heare their questions. Two things are necessary to be observed; That he have a chearefull countenance, as an argument of innocency, to free him from suspicion of any wickednes, or of being a spie. The other, that he shun vicious silence, aswell as Clownish

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bashfulnesse. He may sparingly and as it were carelessly inquire after things worthy to bee observed, and what he learns in this kind, let him diligently note in his Itinerarie.

Curiosity.

22 Curiosity to see the burning of the Mountain Vesuvius (now called Somma) made Pliny perish, and the like curiositie to see the burning of Ætna, bred like mischiefe to Empedocles. Likewise the inquiring after the secrets of Religion, and desiring to bee present at those Rites, hath made many perish. Therefore he must be wary and discreete in this point. Yet I know not how, as Cicero praised some affectation of speech in a young Orator, so I cannot but allow some curiositie in a Traveller, and thinke the same to be of great use to him, since hee runs through the observation of many things in short time, the infinitenesse whereof no memory can comprehend, neither is he like ever to see them againe. Therefore in my opinion, let him be, so hee seeme not to bee curious.

Of Quarrells.

23 Some dissuade men from being patient in their conversation, saying, that he invites a new injury, who beares the old patiently, according to the Italian proverb:

Chi pecora sifa, il Lupo se la mangia.

The man who makes himselfe a sheepe,
The Wolfe will eate, whilst he doth sleepe.

But howsoever I may grant, that in thy owne Country thou shalt bee so much esteemed of others, as thou esteemest thy selfe, yet he that lives in forraigne parts, must with Diogines beg an almes of an Image, that hee may learne patience. The thunder-bolt strikes not that which yeelds. I advise young men to moderate their aptnesse to quarrell, lest they perish with it. We are not all like Amades or Rinaldo, to incounter an hoste of men, we have not the enchanted bodies against wounds, which Achilles and Orlando had, wee shall not finde abroad the same Judges or judgement, which wee might

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have at home, nor the same indulgence or approved customes of single fights.

In Italy twelve or more armed men will assault one enemy unarmed, and perhaps sleeping in his bed. For the Italians in our age, having for the most part placed all their happinesse in the earthly paradise of Italy, and the pleasures of this world, are not given in their nature to undergoe dangerous and equall combats, howsoever honourable. And since the Fathers in the Councell of Trent (lest they should seeme to have done nothing) did strictly forbid these combats unto them, they willingly obey therein, to shaddow their want of daring, yet can they not put off their naturall pride and desire of revenge, but according to the nature of proud men, are apt to take revenge upon al dishonorable advantages of number or Armes, and that with strange cruelty; so as at this day more perish there by these treasons, then ever perished before the Council of Trent by single combates. When they have a quarrel, they presently arme al their bodies, and, as they vulgarly say, their very shinbones, and hinder parts, with males of Iron, and then, compassed with their friends, servants, and hired Fencers (called Bravi) will not stick to fall upon their enemy in this sort, though he bee an unwary stranger, wanting friends; and when they have done a murther, they flie without any impediment to the confines of neighbour Princes, living there as banished men for a time upon roberies, till they can obtaine pardon, which escape a stranger cannot so easily make. But if they have a quarrell with Italians, using like practises, it is a thing most ridiculous to see, with what proud bragging they thus walke armed, and guarded, and with what warinesse and foolish tumult the contrary parts thus walke about the Citie, keeping as farre the one from the other as is possible, till by the intercession of friends, or authority of the Magistrate, they be made friends, which must be done with infinite cerimonies, and cautions of honour, no way blemished but by themselves. Whereas a stranger in Italy may [III. i. 26.]

*Italian
Quarrells.*

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not without licence from the Magistrate, weare a sword in their Cities, no nor so much as a dagger either in the Cities or high-waies of the Popes State. How much lesse will it bee permitted to any stranger thus to arme himselfe, if hee would (since wee are of opinion, that it were better once to dye, then alwaies to feare death, even in our private chambers, and to be continually so loded with iron Armes, as a man can hardly walke or breath.) Therefore a stranger must be very wary not to have a quarrell, and if any be thrust upon him, he must be no lesse wary to shun the danger, by leaving the place or

Note. City in Italy. Neither would I advise a stranger to fight for his money, if hee be assaulted by theeves (called Banditi) in Italy (except the way from Rome to Naples, where hee hath a guard of souldiers to joyne with) since they are men of desperate fortune, and when they assaile the passenger, have not only their bodies armed as afore-said, but carry Muskets, and have ready meanes of escape, ever lying upon the confines of Princes. But in my opinion, he shall doe better to carry letters of credit for receiving money in great Cities as hee passeth, and willingly to yeeld them that which hee hath about him, especially since they use not to kill any not resisting, being content with the spoile of them. Yet in generall for Italy, I remember not that ever I lived in any place, where fewer wrongs and causes of quarrell are offered then there; for they have a Proverb.

Porta rispetto a tuttie no' haver' paura di nessuno.

Give good respect to all, Feare neither great nor small.

So as the Italians offer mutuall honour more then is due, and nothing is more easie, then to abstaine from words of reproch, which a civill man should hate, aswell in respect of himselfe, as others. The chiefe cause of quarrels there, is either making love to other mens private concubines, or the keeping of a private concubine to a mans selfe. For it is proverbially said,

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Chi Asini caccia e donne mena,
Non è mai senza guai & pena.

Who drives an Asse, and leades a Whore,
Hath toile and sorrow evermore.

And the stranger who will intangle himselfe in this mischiefe, seemes worthy to beare the punishment, since there is plenty of grasse in the open fields, though a man never breake into inclosed pastures.

As in Italy, so in Germany, Bohemia, the Low-Countries, and Denmark, the Magistrate never pardons any murther, nor man-slaughter upon hot blood, nor him that killes in single combat upon those termes which some call honourable, neither is there any way to escape punishment, but by flight. And this is common to all these Nations, that onely the Officers of Justice, either stop or lay hands upon a Murtherer or any offender against the Lawes. And this makes great respect of persons, for a poore man having killed one that hath rich friends, shall bee pursued with light horses, while either not at all, or slowly, they follow others, and give way to their escaping. Let a stranger consider, how difficult his flight will be in a strange Country, and how hotly he is like to be pursued.

The Germans are apt to quarrell, and sometimes they fight after their fashion, which is a slash or two with the edge of a sword, and if one of their fingers bee hurt, they straight shake hands, and go to the Taverne to drinke, but to stab or make a thrust is vulgarly called ein schelemstück, that is, the act of a villaine, and the very judges esteeme it a most abominable act. It is ridiculous, that hee which is wounded never so slightly, though it be at the first incounter, straight shakes his adversary by the hand and both returne againe to the Citie, where he that is hurt payes the Wine to the other, for a new or renewed league of friendship. In Germany, Bohemia and Denmarke, no man wil part a quarrel, nor put himself betweene them that are at variance. Neither

*German
Quarrells.*

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[III. i. 27.] will they doe it in disputations (that I may mingle jest with earnest), where the argument is seldome or never taken up by the Moderator; for in truth they are not so fierce in any of these kinds, but that they can compose the matter themselves. The little danger in their manner of fighting, makes their quarrels very frequent. In these places, as every where, it behoves a Traveller with his best judgement to shun quarrels, and if he must needs adventure his body, yet to forecast meanes of escape after victory. Besides the lye, and such words as we account most disgracefull, with many in Germany are made familiar speech, and clounish rudenes esteemed for the neighbor vertue. For the Cochmen, when they are drunke, will easily give ill words, especially to a stranger, and they will not stay a minute for him, either in the Inne, if he be not ready to take Coach, or by the way, if he have any necessary cause to light. Herewith thou being incensed, thinkest him worthy to be stricken, but the Magistrate thinks not so, and will rather beare with him & his partakers, if they tumultuously revenge thy wrong. Who would not with silence and fained deafenes slip his necke out of such base and dangerous brawles. A stranger needes not feare theeves in Germany, for they are most rare, but if any such assault him, let him defend himselfe the best hee can, for they alwaies kill those whom they rob, either out of their nature apt to insult upon the conquered, or because their punishments are most cruell by the Law, neither is there any pardon for capitall crimes. The Sweitzers for the most part Souldiers, and stiffe drinkers, yet seldome or never have any quarrels, because the Lawes impose great penalties upon those that offer injury, and the severe Magistrate never spareth them, there being through all Cities and Villages (with most wise and religious carefulnes) officers appointed, who particularly intend the execution of this justice. Theeves or murtherers are very seldome or never heard of among them, aswell for the severitie of the Law, and the serious execution thereof, as because

*Sweitzer
Quarrells.*

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they are industrious at home, and to shun poverty, are more inclined to serve in forraigne war, then to live by infamous courses at home. In Poland, the Gentlemen are most prone to quarrels, cumbats, and murthers, especially if they be heated with drink, as many times they are, and that because of the unfit priviledges they have above others, and because they have power of life and death in their owne Territories, neither can be called in question for criminall matters, but in the publike Parliament, held once in three yeeres or there abouts, where they are also tried by Gentlemen, who for consanguinity, friendship, or the common cause, are like to be favourable to them. And they care not greatly upon what unequall termes they offer violence, nor how many they be that set upon their adversarie. Some Gentlemen who have been in forraigne parts, are much more civill then the rest, but in generall there is no place where a stranger ought more to avoid quarrels, especially if hee stand not upon equall termes, as not having one or more Gentlemen on his part. In the meane time, all that can here offer violence being Gentlemen, to whom the rest are slaves, either for feare of infamy, or for the abundance they have of all things for life, robbers by the highway are very rare in Poland, and a passenger may safely carry ready money about him, especially if he conceale it.

*Quarrells in
Poland.*

It were in vaine to give any precepts for quarrels in Turkey, where a Christian not onely may not quarrell, but not so much as carry a sword, no nor looke a Turke in the face without a Bastinado. For the Turkes among themselves, they seldome or never fight a combate. The Citizens and men of inferiour degrees stand in as humble awe of their souldiers, as the Christians doe of them, neither dare lift up the head or hand against a common Souldier, though they were one hundred against one. And the Souldiers, howsoever they brawle among themselves like butter-wives, yet they never strike one another, the Lawes being most severe in the punishment thereof. Theeves are lesse to be feared there, because passengers

*Quarrells in
Turkey.*

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*Janisaries are
best to protect
Christians.*

[III. i. 28.]

neither goe nor ride alone, but in Caravanes, that is, a multitude of men and loaded Cammels: yet the Christians commended to the protection of those that leade the Caravans, not onely by friends, but by bribes, and chancing to meet by the way any Janizaries, shal be forced to give them such victuals as they carry, especially wine, except they have a Janizary to protect them, whereof one will serve to defend them against the injuries of a thousand chancing to meet them, but they seldome doe the Christian passengers any other wrong, then this consuming of their provisions. Howsoever in all events I would advise no Christian of the better sort, having meanes for fit expences, to goe any journey without a Janizarie to protect him, especially since at Constantinople, from one Christian Ambassadors or other, he may easily obtaine a Janizarie to attend him faithfully, and at a very easie rate. At which Citie it is most fit for a Christian to begin his journey into other parts of Turkie. Howsoever hee may likewise obtain such a Janizarie of some Christian Consull, either at Halepo in Syria, or at Cayero (called also Babilon) in Egypt, and at other frequented places upon the Sea coast. And this Janizarie for some eight Aspers a day wages, will faithfully helpe the Christian of whom hee is hired, not as a companion, but rather as a free kinde of servant.

*English
Quarrells.*

Englishmen, especially being young and unexperienced, are apt to take all things in snuffe. Of olde, when they were fenced with Bucklers, as with a Rampier, nothing was more common with them, then to fight about taking the right or left hand, or the wall, or upon any displeasing countenance. Clashing of swords was then daily musicke in every streete, and they did not onely fight combats, but cared not to set upon their Enemie upon advantages, and unequall termes. But at this day when no nation labours more then the English (as well by travailing into forraigne Kingdomes, as by the studie of good letters, and by other meanes) to enrich their mindes with all vertues, I say in these dayes, they scorne

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such men, and esteeme them of an idle braine, who for ridiculous or trifling causes runne the triall of single fight, and howsoever they behave themselves stoutly therein, yet they repute them to have lost as much opinion of wisdome, as they have gayned of daring. Much more doe they despise them, who quarrell and fight in the streetes publicquely, and doe not rather make private triall of their difference, as also those, who make quarrels with men of base condition, yea they thinke them infamous who with disparity of number doe many assaile one man, and for this beastly quality comparing them to Hogges, whereof when one grunts, all the Heard comes to helpe him, they thinke them worthie of any punishment: besides that upon killing any man, mercie is seldome or never shewed them, howsoever in other faire combats, the Princes mercie hath many times given life to the man-slayer. And the cause why single fights are more rare in England in these times, is the dangerous fight at single Rapier, together with the confiscation of man-slayers goods. So as I am of opinion, contrarie to the vulgar, and think them worthy of praise, who invented dangerous weapons, as Rapiers, Pistols, Gunnes, and Gunpowder, since the invention, whereof much smaller number of men hath perished, by single fights, or open warre, then in former times: and conquests and such inundations of barbarous people as were those of the Gothes, Hunnes, and Longobards, are much lesse to bee feared. Nothing did in olde time more animate strong Tyrants and Gyants to oppresse weaker men, then the huge waight of their Clubs, and of their armes, wherewith Goliah had easily quelled David, if God had not put in his minde to fight against him with a new kinde of weapon more suteable to his strength. I returne to the purpose, and doe freely professe, that in case of single fights in England, the Magistrate doth favour a wronged stranger, more then one of the same Nation, howsoever the Law favours neither, and that a stranger so fighting, neede feare no treason, by any disparitie or otherwise.

Why single fights are more rare now than in times past.

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*Theeves in
England.*

But in the meane time, here & in all places happy are the peaceable. Let me adde one thing of corrupt custome in England, that those who are not growne men, never have the opinion of valour, till in their youth they have gayned it with some single fight, which done, they shall after live more free from quarrels: But it were to be wished, that a better way were found to preserve reputation, then this of single fights, aswell contrary to the Law of God, as a capitall crime by the Lawes of men. Theeves in England are more common then in any other place, so farre as I have observed or heard, but having taken purses by the high way, they seldome or never kill those they rob. The true man, having strength, armes, and courage, may cheerefully resist them, having the Lawes, Magistrates, People, and all passengers, together with a good cause on his side: but this is peculiar to the English, that not onely the officers of Justice, but all private men, present or meeting him by chance, are bound to apprehend a murtherer, or any theefe, & that the next Constables or under officers are bound to pursue them by hue and cry, from Village to Village, and City to City.

[III. i. 29.]
*The English
descended of
the French.*

And howsoever the English are for a great part discended of the French, and so partaking with them nature and manners, have also like customes, more specially in quarrels and single fights, yet in France they have not this custome to pursue and apprehend malefactors. Onely they have Marshals in severall Provinces, to pursue malefactors with light horses, but otherwise onely the officers of Justice use to apprehend them in Cities. And of late, to repress the malice of men after a long civill warre, breaking out into single fights and murthers, they have made severe Lawes, and imposed great penalties upon those that quarrell, especially if any bloud be shed, whereas in England onely man-slaiers are called in capitall question, and small or no punishment is inflicted upon one that lightly wounds another. For the rest, the French and English have the same apt-

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nesse to quarrels, and the same braverie in these single fights.

Also the Scots are therein like the English, save that the Scots will take parts, and assaile an enemy with disparitie of numbers and armes, wherein also the Northerne English are not at this day fully reformed.

*Scottish
Quarrells.*

In this kind the Barbarous Irish doe offend in Ireland, but the English and Irish-English there have the customes of the English. And in times of peace few or no thieves rob by the high waies of Ireland, but the stealths of Cowes, Horses, and Sheepe, are frequent. All I have said of this subject is onely to this purpose, that the Traveller being informed of the condition of Justice, Combats, and Roberies in forraigne parts, may better learne to apply himselfe to patience, and to use moderation, according to the necessitie & danger more proper to him then others, in divers places.

*Irish
Quarrells.*

24 Being to write of simulation, I am at a stay, and grope for passage, as in a darke Labyrinth: for the voyce of the Vulgar, esteemes the vice of dissimulation proper to a Traveller, and highly doth reproch him therewith. Shall we then say, that hee who knowes so to live with Italians, Spaniards, and very barbarous Pagans, as he can gaine their well-wishing, will be at home and among his friends subject to the odious vice of dissimulation, the very plague of true friendship? Surely by travell, the good become better in all kinds of vertue, and the ill more wicked in all vices. But let the indifferent Judge tell me, if the greater part of Clownes under their rugged cotes, and most Lawyers, and Merchants, under the shadow of faire words, and sometimes wicked perjuries, have not more skill to dissemble (if that be to deceive), then any Travaler whatsoever, not excepting Plato himselfe. No doubt simulation in fit place and time is a vertue. He that cannot dissemble, cannot live. But hee that so dissembles, as he is accounted a dissembler, indeed hath not the skill to dissemble, but is noted with that infamy, so as another shall better bee believed upon his

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word, then hee upon his oath. Cicero commends the saying of Epicharmus, Remember to distrust, and calles it the sinew of wisdom, and the Italians have a Proverb,

Da chi mi fido, mi guarda Dio:
Da chi non mi fido, mi guarderò io.

From him I trust God helpe me at my neede,
Of him I trust not, my selfe will take heede.

*When a
Traveller
ought to
dissemble.*

Antigonus prayes God to defend him from his friends. Let me speake of mine owne experience. My selfe was never deceived by the Italians, whom I suspected, but by a German (which Nation hath a cleare countenance, and generall reputation of honesty), I was at Lindaw stripped and cousoned for a time of al the gold I carried about me. Therefore it is a point of art for a Traveller to know how to avoide deceit, and how to dissemble honesty (I meane to save himselfe, not to deceive others.) Let him have a cleare countenance to all men, and an open brest to his friend, but when there is question of his Countries good, of his enemies lying in waite for him, of his owne credit or life, let him shut his bosome close from his inward friends. That Counsell thou wouldest have another keepe, first keepe it thy selfe. A Traveller must dissemble his long journeys, yet onely in dangerous places, and among suspected persons. My selfe have observed some too warie in this kinde, who in most safe waies, used grosse caution, to hide from their neere friend the purpose of their journey, and sometimes in Cities would conceale where and what hower they dined and supped. In like sort a traveller must sometimes hide his money, change his habit, dissemble his Country, and fairely conceale his Religion, but this hee must doe onely when necessity forceth. Let mee insist upon some examples, which are most proper to manifest the truth in a darke argument. My selfe in Italy many times passed for a German, and then consorted my selfe with Germans, faithfull companions, as they bee all in generall,

[III. i. 30.]

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haters of drunkennes, as some of them be, either drinking altogether water, or using the French diet, and of the same Religion with me, as those are of the Palatinate of Rheine, and in some other Provinces. Then I covenanted with these my consorts, that when any man spake Dutch to me (though I had some skill in that Language, especially for vulgar speeches), and most of all if wee were in any long discourse, one of them should take the answere out of my mouth, as being slow of speech, though it were done somewhat unmannerly. Secondly, that if I were discovered (in any dangerous place) not to be a German, as I professed, they should say that I was unknowne to them, and by the way fell into their company, and so withdrawing themselves out of danger by leaving the place, should leave to me the care of my selfe. And with these consorts I went to Naples, and there confidently, though lesse wisely, in respect of the warre betweene England and Spaine, I entered to view the strong Fort kept by the Spaniards, and after went to Milan. Another time under the name of a Polonian, I went to the Duke of Loraine his Court at Nanzi, where being curiously sifted by the guard at the City-gate, and being asked many questions about the King and Queene and State of Poland, I so satisfied them, as they admitted me into the City, but when at the very entrance they bad me hold up my hand, which ceremony the French use in taking of othes, I was much affraied, least they should put me to my oath for my Country, but when they had asked me if I came not from any place infected with the plague, and I had answered no upon my oth, they let me passe into the Citie.

There is great art for a Traveller to conceale his Religion in Italy and Spaine, with due wisdom and without offending his conscience: for if a man would seeme (as I may say) a Puritan Papist, (which sort they call picchia petti, that is, Brest-beaters), there is danger to fall into the suspition of an Hypocrite. For the Italians well know,

*Concealment
of Religion.*

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Chi te carezza piu che far' no' suole,
O Che gabbato t' ha, O che gabbar' te vuole.

Who more then he was wont doth court and woe,
He hath deceiv'd thee, or faine would so doe.

And they have often read that of Tacitus.

Quo magis ficta sunt quæ faciunt, eò plura faciunt.

The more any doe dissemble,
The more to doe they are nimble.

*What errors a
Traveller
must beware
not to fall
into.*

Also the Traveller must beware not to fall into such errors, as I observed two of my familiar friends (yet in a safe place and free of danger) grossely to fall into. Of which one being a German, and living in the State of Florence, when hee returned after dinner to his lodging, and his hostesse asked where hee had been, made answer, that hee came from hearing of a Masse, whereas Masses are onely sung in the morning and when the Priests are fasting. The other being an Englishman, and going to Rome in a disguised habit, did weare apparrell of so many colours, and so strange fashions, as by the same being most strange and uncomely not onely in the sight of his owne Country men, but also of the Italians, he drew the eyes of all Jesuites and Romans upon him, so as they began to inquire after him, and he hardly escaped thence by speedy flight, and when they pursued him, had fallen into their snares, if he had not been forewarned of his danger by an Italian friend. To these I will adde a third, who being an Englishman and by freedome of speech voluntarily professing himselfe a Frenchman, was discovered by me at that time also disguised, and by chance falling into his company, but hee learning at that time, that nothing was more safe then silence, afterwards escaped dangers, into which otherwise he might easily have fallen.

[III. i. 31.]

My selfe lived in Italy, and for the space of one yeere never heard a Masse, but daily I went out of my

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chamber in the morning, as if I had gone to the Masse. At my very first comming into Italy, I presently went to Rome and Naples, and so at my first enterance passed my greatest dangers, that having satisfied my curiositie, if perhaps in my returne I should happen to feare any danger, I might more contentedly and speedily escape away. For they who stay at Paduoa some moneths, and after goe to Rome, may be sure, that the Jesuites and Priests there, are first by their spies advertised, not onely of their comming, but also of their condition, and the most manifest signes of their bodies, whereby they may bee knowne. Moreover, I being at Rome in Lent time, it happened, that some few dayes before Easter, a Priest came to our lodging, and tooke our names in writing, to the end (as he told us) that we might receive the Sacrament with our Hosts family. Therefore I went from Rome upon Tuseday before Easter, and came to Sienna upon good Friday, and upon Easter even (pretending great busines) tooke my journey to Florence, where I staid onely Easter day, and from thence went to Pisa, and before the ende of Easter weeke returned in haste to Sienna, where I had a Chamber, which I kept when I was at Rome, and where I meant now to abide for a time. Thus by often changing places I avoyded the Priests inquiring after mee, which is most dangerous about Easter time, when all men receive the Sacrament. Yet indeede there is lesse danger of the Inquisition in the State of Florence, then other where, as there is no danger thereof at all in the State of Venice to him that can hold his peace, and behave himselfe modestly.

*By often
changing
places Priests
are avoyded.*

One thing I cannot omit, that some few dayes before Easter, when I was ready to come from Rome, I adventured to visit Bellarmine, and that in the Jesuites Colledge, professing my selfe to bee a Frenchman, and wearing Italian clothes, and that after their manner, which is a matter of no small moment; for if I had not been wary therein, the craftie spies of Rome would easily have

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knowne mee by some gesture or fashion of wearing my clothes, which they know to bee proper to the English, as the muffling a mans face with his cloke, or the like. But especially I tooke heede, not to gase on the Colledge walles, a manifest signe of a stranger, nor to looke stedfastly in the face of any Englishman chancing to meete mee, whereof some were like to have knowne mee in the Universitie of Cambridge, least by such beholding of them, I might draw their eyes to looke earnestly on mee, for one looke invites another. And with these cautions, I did happily satisfie this my curiositie. Also upon good judgement I made my selfe knowne to Cardinall Allas, when I first came from Naples to Rome, and when hee had promised mee his protection, holding my peace, and abstaining from publike offence, I rested thereupon for the worst events, yet withall, to avoide the conversation and familiaritie of Priests and Englishmen, yea even of those that were of the Cardinals family, I first left the common Inne, then changed my hired chamber, taking another in a poore house close under the Popes Pallace, as a place least like to be searched.

*Of being
present at
masse.*

I doe not commend the curiositie to be present at seeing the rites of a contrary Religion, which was the death of two young men, and gave occasion to the first Macedonian warre, the people of Rome assisting the murtherers, and the King of Macedon desiring to revenge the death of the two young men. In former times, and now to this day, the Turkes use to fling stones at the Christians (whom they call unwashed dogs, because they use not Baths) when they come neere to their Moschees or their Sepulchers. The Papists doe no lesse persecute the Reformed Church with fier and sword. And howsoever one of the Reformed profession may live in Italy, and yet never communicate with them in their rites, by the foresaid governing of the tongue, by going out of his chamber each morning, as if hee went to Masse (for the Italians generally thinke they are not safe till in the morning they have worshipped the Hostia at the elevation

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thereof, which their devotion is done in a moment), and by changing places of abode, with like discrete carriage, yet since it is dangerous to see their rites, yea, perhaps sinfull, why should he not restraints his curiosity to heare their Masses, & see their cerimonies, especially all the monuments of the Churches being to be seene at another time of the day. But if any will needs be present at their Masses, either to please his companions, or for his owne pleasure, as going to see a stage-play, or for curiositie, wherewith many are led. Of two evils he must chuse the least, namely, rather to signe himselfe with the crosse, or negligently to make offer, as if he dipped his hand (or his glove upon it, as their manner is) into the holy water-Box, rather then by omitting these common ceremonies, to fall into suspition, and being called into question, either be driven to denie his Religion under his hand writing, or be burned with fier.

[III. i. 32.]

*Common
ceremonies
not to be
omitted.*

Let them stay at home who are so zealous, as they will pull the Hostia or Sacrament out of the Priests hand. They should doe better to avoide the adoring thereof, by slipping out of the way, or restraining their curious walkes: for inordinate desire of Martyrdome is not approveable, for the avoiding whereof and all snares, we are bidden joyne the Serpents wisdom to the Doves simplicity. Saint Paul was not so furious, for he did not cast downe the Altars in Athens, but taking occasion by the Altar which Epimenides erected in the time of a plague to an unknowne God, he preached Christ peaceably unto them, though he were an Apostle, and so had greater authoritie then the blind zealous of our time. For my part, I know no reason, why one of the reformed Church may not say his prayers in the Churches of Papists, and I know the greater part of the Masse (I meane the Divine Office) is good, but the chiefe mischiefe is the adoration or communication of the Hostia. Ismenius an Ambassadour of the Thebans being willed to adore the Persian King, let fall his Ring from his finger, and taking it up, made a shew to adore the King, yet was not judged to

*Overheated
zealouts are
unfit to
Travell.*

*Example of
S. Paul.*

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have offended against the Freedome of the Greeke Nation.

The Papists at the tinckling of a little Bell, lift up the consecrated Bread, to bee adored for the true body of Christ, at which time all that are present fall on their knees, and mumble a short prayer, and onely the more devout strike their brests, but all Papists beleeeve Christ to bee there corporally present. No doubt they erre in that thought, but the question is of the outward reverence exhibited, how farre that may offend the conscience of the stranger, who otherwise knowes the truth of that point, and beleeves it.

*Lutherans
opinions.*

The Lutherans, though they doe not beleeeve transubstantiation, yet they beleeeve Consubstantiation, which is a corporall presence, yet I neither reade nor heare any follower of Calvins doctrine, who hath positively forbidden one of their profession and living among Lutherans, to communicate in Prayers and Sacraments with them, if he may not with his owne, and am sure that with common consent they confesse, the Lutherans to have true Sacraments. William Perkins a late Writer of singular learning and piety, doth teach, that the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the Sacraments, differ not in substance, and that the Word preached by Heretickes is the true Word of God, as their Sacraments also are true. He teacheth, that the Pharises, though in part hereticks, and Apostataes, yet by Christs command were to be heard, as sitting in the chaire of Moses, so men tooke heed of their false doctrine. He concludes, that the Word hath his power among hereticks. Then so have the Sacraments, which himselfe saith doe not differ in substance from the Word? Hee teacheth, that some of the Levits were Heretikes, and did teach after a sort the breach of the Morall Law, and beleevd Justification by workes, and yet that the Circumcision administred by them was true. He teacheth that Judas was an hypocrite, and was called a divell by Christ, yet that hee truly preached and baptized. From all which

*William
Perkins
his teaching.*

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points he collecteth, that Infants are not to be rebaptised, because the Sacraments are true, the right forme being used, which are administred by Papists. Lastly, hee concludes, that howsoever the Church of Rome is no true Church, yet it hath true Sacraments, because in that Church the true Church is, though it lie hidden, to which these Sacraments onely belong. Yet he denies that it followes thereupon, that it is lawfull to communicate the Supper of the Lord with Papists. I will onely adde one position more of this godly man, in another discourse of [III. i. 33.] his, namely, that in the eternall worship of God, the particular gestures are not prescribed by the word of God, so they be done decently and modestly, according to the laudable customes of each Church, either standing, sitting, kneeling, or lying prostrate.

Some may inferre from this discourse, and the last positions thereof, that the Gods of the Gentiles are Idols to Papists, Protestants, and to all Men, but howsoever the Papists Hostia is an Idoll to them, who thinke erroneously of it, yet of it selfe and to others rightly judging of it, that it is a true Sacrament, and so is to have due reverence, according to the custome of the Church wherein a man doth live. That in like sort a Papist praying before the Images of Christ or of the Apostles, doth sinne, because he bends his knee to them, and thinkes them to be worshipped, but that if another abhorring from such idolatry, should pray in a chamber or Church where such Pictures are, and should kneele before them, yet he should not sinne, having no mind to worship them, or kneele to them. That God will be worshipped with holinesse, not with faction: That some honest kind of dissembling Religion (within due limits) is tollerable; yea, that the outward gesture and reverence used in the Churches of Papists, even to the Sacrament elevated, is if not lawfull, yet not impious.

For my part, God is my wnesse, that I abhorre from *Adver:* denying my Faith, or my blessed Saviour in any point of my Faith, and would not for a World employ my

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*None of our
Teachers have
forbidden us
to heare a
Papists
Sermon.*

tongue or pen to give encouragement to any wickednesse, yet not to leave the consciences of such as sojourne among forraigne Papists altogether upon the Racke, give me leave to say: That the former positions being granted, I cannot but thinke that there is great difference, betweene those who superstitiously worship one true God in three Persons, (which Article of the Trinity cannot be denied to be held by Papists), and the Heathen Idolators worshipping imaginary Gods, yea very Divels. That we are not tied to write our Faith in our foreheads, and thrust our selves into the hands of Inquisitors, but may with godly wisdome avoide their snares. Yea, that I cannot condemne the bare kneeling and praying, or outward reverence in the Churches of Papists, as simply impious, no other circumstances concurring to aggravate such actions, especially they being done in forraigne parts, where no offence is given to weake brethren, (which the Apostle 1 Cor. 8. 13, bids us avoide); but rather the offence of those is avoided, who are Christians, howsoever superstitious. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because none of our Teachers have (to my knowledge) ever dogmatically forbidden us to heare a Papists Sermon, at which if wee may be present without sinne, no doubt we may not without sinne omit the reverence in our gestures due to the word of God from the Chaire of Moses, howsoever spoken by the mouth of Pharyses: But for the maine question of hearing a Masse, of adoring the Hostia therein, and of communicating that Sacrament with them, I must confesse. That I hold the hearing of a Masse, being alwayes joined with kneeling to the Hostia, to be questionlesse a sinne, which the godly must bewaile, who by curiosity or any vaine affection have beene seduced thereunto, because thereby they have communicated in prayers to Saints, without precept or promise, and so without faith; and have further exhibited the reverence of kneeling to the Hostia, which howsoever it is due to God at the receiving of the Sacrament, yet to beholders onely of the elevation, where

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the Priest onely receives it, no pretence is left for such outward reverence or worship. Also I must confesse, that whatsoever may be concluded out of the former and like positions to prove that the Papists have a true Sacrament of Baptisme, yet in the Lords Supper they want the true forme required by Master Perkins to make a true Sacrament, and in my opinion this one thing alone, makes it most unlawfull for us to communicate the Lords Supper with them, namely, that they mangle it and make it lame, by giving it only in one kind of bread, without the other kind of wine, contrary to the institution. And so much may suffice for this kind of simulation.

Moreover I advise no man to beleieve that, which some by wofull experience have of late found most false, namely, that men of any Religion may freely come to Rome in the yeere of Jubily: For the priviledge of that yeere belongs to men banished and indebted, not to Heretikes, (as they terme us); In summe they who feare God from their hearts, who see before their eyes the misery of them that are infected with the French disease, and who know the chaste pleasures of marriage, they may with honest dissembling and little art keepe their chastity in Italy, where a stranger is not lesse esteemed for not being vicious in that kind, as they commonly are, so he be not an austere and bitter reprover thereof to those with whom he liveth: yea, rather he shall avoide many dangers by not being rivall to any of them in their love. In like sort, when hee lives in other Countries, nothing is more easie, then by honest dissimulation to avoid the communicating with them in the proper vices of the Countrey, onely the Germans are like fier, which converteth all into his owne element, for singular art must be used by him, that will preserve himselfe from drunkennesse among them: And let no man wonder that I say it is easie to preserve chastity in Italy, and most hard to be sober in Germany, since the first is a solitary vice, and hates the rivall, but the second is communicative, and requires the emulation of companions, wherein they strive

*Heritickes as
the Papists
terme us,
maye not come
to Rome in
the yeare of
Jubilye.*
[III. i. 34.]

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for victorie as in games for the wager. Of the art to shunne drinking, I shall treat in the following Chapter of the Germans diet, by which it will appeare that some dissimulation is honest and vertuous, the vice whereof is to be avoyded both at home and abroad, and cannot justly be imputed to a Traveller of this kinde. To conclude, he that will safely live abroad, and so returne home, must carry himselfe wisely and warily, so shall he not onely avoide vices, without the blot of rude austerity, and shall without danger both converse with Papists, and even be present at their rites, if hee be so affected, but also with Uliesses shall have the skill, even to steale away the Image of Pallas from the Troyans his enemies, without feare of surprisall.

*How a
Traveller
ought to
behave him-
selfe returning
home.*

25 It remaines that to a Traveller returning home with experience, I should not give precepts, as to a novice, but friendly admonitions, as to a fellow Souldier. First his discourse must not be generally and continually in dispraise of other Nations: for so he shall bewray want of judgement, except he adde some good reason for all generall and severall imputations: Thus the Italians erre, who comming into England, and seeing the familiar conversation of our Weomen, doe repute them for Harlots, who are much chaster then their Weomen would be, having like liberty as ours have. Thus strangers may easily judge amisse, of the weomen in Freesland giving kisses to each man to whom they drinke, and taking kisses of each whom they pledge. As also of the Virgins in Holland, who hand in hand with young men, slide upon the yce farre from their Fathers house, and there lodge in a strange Towne or Village: for these old customes of particular places, are no certaine signes of unchastity. The Italian Sansovinus grossely erreth in this kinde, being otherwise a man of great wit and judgement, who affirmes that Parents in England take the pillowes from the heads of their children ready to die, out of tender pittie and charity, to put them out of their paine; because perhaps hee heard that some weomen, hired to keepe

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some that were sicke of contagious diseases, and therefore sent with them into solitary places, had sometimes committed this notable villany. What could he have said more? if he had lived among the Indians, who eate their Parents, that the wormes may not eate them. I have heard some complaine of England, for the deare rates of diet, and for the peoples inhumanity to strangers, because they had beene ill used at Gravesend, (where the very English are rudely and ill served), and by some obscure Hosts of London, who use to entertaine and wrong strangers, having otherwise never visited the Citizens of London, the Schollers of the Universities, Gentlemen, or learned men, nor having ever gone further then London into the Countrey, which if they had done; they should have found these men, and the very Countrey people not onely curteous, but too much given to admire strangers, so they could make themselves understood, or had with them a guide skilful of the language & fashions. Others I have heard speake very ill of Italy, whereas there is no Countrey in the World more commodious, to him (as they say) *Chi sa far' i fatti suoi*, that is, who knowes to doe his owne businesse: We betray our ignorance or our selfe love, when wee dispraise forraigne things without true judgement, or preferre our owne Countrey before others, without shewing good reason thereof.

They erre no lesse, who like critickes or the Poet [III. i. 35.] Aristarchus, omitting the vertues of other Nations, discourse onely of all their vices. Againe, it is no lesse unfit to praise forraigne things without good judgement, as I have heard some, beyond measure extoll the bridge of Prage in Bohemia, the monuments of Saint Dennis in France, and poore antiquities of Rome. This argues a vulgar man, since the vulgar praise small things, admire meane things, and have altogether no feeling or apprehension of great things.

*What we
should praise
and dispraise.*

26 Also I admonish him, after his returne home, to renew his old friendships: and as Souldiers in a good Common-wealth, when the warre is ended, returne to the

*Olde friend-
ship is to be
renewed.*

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*Divers
strange
manners teach
us good
behaviour.*

works of their calling, (like the followers of Mercury, aswell as of Mars), so that he returning home, lay aside the spoone and forke of Italy, the affected gestures of France, and all strange apparrell, yea, even those manners which with good judgement he allowes, if they be disagreeable to his Countrey-men: For we are not all borne reformers of the World. Dancing teacheth good carriage of the body, yet we must not alwayes dance; so divers strange manners teach us good behaviour, yet we must not use inconstancy of manners: Thou didst wisely forbear abroad to offend strangers, with whom thou didst live but from day to day, either with thy apparrell or diet, or austerity of thy Countrey manners, and why shouldest not thou much more forbear, at home to offend thy own Countrymen, with whom thou art to spend al the rest of thy life, or provoke them to scoffe at thee for the foresaid vanities disagreeable to them. Alexander the Great himselfe, though he were a most powerfull King, and most gracious in his Subjects love, could not use the Persians apparrell and fashions, whom hee had overcome, without the great offence and repining of his Macedonians.

Of discourse.

Many at the first sight may judge me to erre, in that I perswade the Traveller, when he returneth home, not to use those manners which in good judgement hee allowes, in case they be not approved, and used by his Countrey-men: But this is good in my judgement, for confirmation whereof I will onely yeeld one example. The Italian being a great and somewhat viciously curious observer of ceremonious complements, when hee hath saluted one, and begunne to entertaine him with speech, if he chance to espy another man, with whom he hath very great businesse, yet will hee not leave the first man without a solemne excuse: But an Englishman discoursing with any man, (I meane in the house or any chamber of Presence, not in the streetes), if hee spy another man with whom hee hath serious occasion to speake, will suddenly without any excuse turne from the first man,

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and goe to conferre with the other, and with like negligence will leave and take new men for discourse, which an Italian would take in ill part, as an argument of disrespect. This fashion, and the like curiosities, I would have an Englishman to leave when hee returnes out of Italy, as tasting of affected nicenesse, and not in use: Except hee bee of such place, authority, and grace at home, as he may have confidence to bring any good forraigne custome or manner into use and fashion in his owne Countrey: for wee seldome commend or follow any man of meane sort, taking upon him to bring in new words into our language, or new manners into practice, or clothes into wearing: And except hee shall leave the foresaid curiosities, his company is like to be shunned, as of a nice observer of mens actions and manners, and most men will thinke that he doth not so much out of judgement allow forraigne things, as out of pride dispise his owne.

Yet I doe not give this admonition so much, that he may not offend others, as that he may not be offended himselfe by others: For I will be bold to maintaine this position against the vulgar opinion, namely, that sharpes, subtill wits, curious behaviour, and like nice properties, savouring of either extreme, are to be accounted among the owners calamities, and that a certaine dulnesse (in some meane, not in extremity) doth give the owner great ease and quietnesse. For since all the objects of humane life, are more often accompanied with noysomenesse, then pleasure, it comes to passe, that he who hath a quicke smell, is troubled with more stinkes, then hee is refreshed with sweet odours, that an eye offended with any the least error in building, with the very household stuffe never so little disposed out of order, with negligent attire, (though it be not slovenly or sluttish), and with like unpleasing sights, is more often offended, and sometimes redeemes the pleasing of his eye with extraordinary charge to the purse: That one of a nice taste, finding few things that like his appetite, seldome is pleased with

*Owners
calamities.* }

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*Witty men
wound them-
selves with
the edge of
their owne
wit.*

any meate, Cooke or Host, while in the meane time they who have more dull sences, use many things with pleasure, and are more rarely offended; That a subtil wit, by all arguments and meanes enlarging each il accident, makes them seeme unsupportable, and therewith is driven into phrensie, whiles other men of more dull apprehension, though indeed they be oppressed with worse fortunes, yet being not able to search the bottom of their disasters, by blockish oblivion give their soules much rest: For discussing hereof, out of one particular learne to resolve of all. As honour is not in him that receives it, but in him that gives it, so love is not the excellency of the party beloved, but the fancy of the lover. Hence it comes, that witty men wound themselves with the edge of their owne wit, while in the meane time they snort in sound sleepe, which are more dull then that love or like fancies can disturbe their rest: yea, since selfe love is the very roote of love, this blind love of all that our selves doe or thinke, makes the Ovidian enamoured persons faine in their winding imaginations a gracefull comelinesse in meere deformity, as they who see an Æthiopian Woman blacke, yet love her upon the concept of her white teeth and soft skin, and so they repute their Mistresse much fairer and more vertuous then indeed shee is, and the more they feed and nourish these fictions of their owne braine, the more they love her for them, even to desperate madnesse and meere Idolatry, while in the meane time the duller lovers more trusting to their eyes, then to their wits, cannot find out these subtill arguments to deceive themselves, and so make them love a blacke More, a squint-eyed, lame, or deformed Mistresse. Hence it is also, that howsoever there is but one true beauty, yet divers fancies find severall beauties in each complexion, or rather imagine them such to please their owne fancies.

Conclusion.

To conclude, hence it is, that he who at home ties himselfe to the curious manners of Italy, and finds that others observe not the like towards him, is often enraged, as if

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he were disrespected, and so takes every thing for an injury, being distracted with these falsly conceived offences, which are taken by him, but not given by them who observe not the same nice rules of behaviour as he doth: And my selfe, though never very ceremonious, speake this of experience, which hath confirmed my judgement, that a Traveller must cast away all customes smelling of displeasing curiosity, and howsoever hee doth well to observe curiously all forraigne customes and ceremonies, thereby to enrich his knowledge and confirme his judgement, yet hee must use them sparingly in his conversation at home.

27 Lastly, I advise him, that after his returne, he sparingly & not without intreaty, relate his journeys and observations. Such must a traveller be, as may be hired with a crust of bread to hold his peace or to speake: how little then doth it become him to be so talkative, as he would hier one to heare him? My selfe have heard many, who had scarce seene the Lyons of the Tower, and the Beares of Parish-Garden, (as I may well say in comparison of their small journeys and experience with other mens), so ingrosse all the talke of the Table in relating their adventures, as if they had passed the pillars of Hercules: nothing could be asked which they could not resolve of their owne knowledge, having well learned the precept of Ovid to Lovers:

*Travellers
must be
sparing not
talkative at
theire returne.*

Et quæ nescieris ut bene nota refer;

What thou know'st not, boldly relate, as if thou
knew'st thereof the state.

And this they did with great applause of the ignorant, and no lesse derision of experienced men, who in their discourse had often found them lyers, and well knew that as many hastning out at one gate, passe more slowly, so vessels full of good liquor, sound not so much as the emptie, and they who understand much, are not so free in imparting it. And these be the men who have branded Travellers with the tytle of Lyers, but a wise man

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[III. i. 37.] ought to distinguish such sponges, from praise-worthie Travellers. For in all arts, professions, and courses of life, some take upon them the skill and facultie of the best, who are commonly most ignorant and impotent therein, and it were great injustice to ascribe the weakenesse of the one, to any defect in the other, or in the art and course it selfe. Therefore,

Navita de ventis, de Tauris narret Arator.

Let Marriners of the winds force,
And Plowmen of their Bulls discourse.

but I would have a Traveller after his returne (like an Orator or Poet) so well instructed in all subjects of discourse, as nothing should be altogether strange to him, yet so discreete also, as hee should not but upon some faire occasion speake of those things, whereof he could discourse most eloquently and judicially. And since stale Harlots by this art make their putrified wares saleable, how much more shall Travellers, whose discourse more pleaseth in the stomack then in the mouth, make the very stones and insensible creatures to daunce and hang upon their mouthes, as they are said to have been moved by the eloquence and musick of Ulysses and Orpheus.

Chap. III.

Of the opinions of old Writers, and some Proverbs which I observed in forraigne parts by reading or discourse, to be used either of Travellers themselves, or of divers Nations and Provinces.

Voracitie.



Ld Writers affirme, that the Northerne men, in respect of their heate kept in by the cold, are generally greater eaters then Southerne men. Thus they prove it; Because all men have a better stomacke in Winter then in Summer, because Northerne men passing towards the South, daily leese their appetite; and because both men and beasts of the South are more leane, then those of the

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North. This opinion is of it selfe true, but the arguments for prooffe admit some exceptions; for the Turkes towards the South be fatter generally, then our men of the North, not that they eate more, but that they are Eunuches, and given to idlenesse, I say therefore, that the opinion is generally true, but by many accidents proves false, namely, in places which suffer not the extremity of cold in the North, or of heate in the South, and comparing barren Pastures in the North, with fertile pastures in the South, and upon like accidents, hindring the true effects.

The fortitude of the minde, and the strength of the body for the same reason they attribute to Northerne men, and shew by Histories that hereupon they were ever Conquerours, as the Medes against the Assirians, the Assirians against the Chaldeans, the Greekes against the Persians, the Parthians against the Greekes, the Romans against the Carthaginians, the Gothes against the Romans, the Turkes against the Arabians, the Tartars against the Turkes, the English against the French, even in France, though the French called in by the English could never conquer them. *Fortitude and strength.*

Lastly, they conclude that the Scythians are most valiant, and the best Souldiers of the World: The truth is, that the Romans were overrunne by barbarous people of the North, yet not for their want of valour, but by their dissention, and the vastnesse of their Empire, falling with his owne weight: yet the same Romans subdued, and long held in subjection many Nations of the North, as France, the Low-Countries, and Britanny. And no doubt the hope of spoile, not valour or strength, made the barbarous people overrunne the Romans, who might have beene quiet from them if they had been poore. No man will fish with a golden hooke for a halfe penny fish. Againe, the riches of the Romans, made them effeminate, which likewise encouraged the barbarous people to assaile them.

But it were fitter to say, that wisdom and wit, rather

[III. i. 38.] then heate or cold, make men to be valiant. For no man contemnes death, or hath due respect of honour but hee, with whom reason prevailes more then nature. Nature hath his force, as the Eagle begets not a Dove, but reason, rather then nature, is the cause, that when common Souldiers runne away, yet Gentlemen chuse rather to dye, then escape by flight. Not so much because they are borne of a Noble race, as because they will not be a reproach to themselves, and their race. Not because Gentlemen dye with lesse paine then the common sort, but because they better understand that the soule is immortall, that he dies in a good cause who fights for his Country, and that an honorable death is to be preferred before a disgracefull life. In all great Empires, valour and learning flourished together, and decayed together, with the ruines of the Empires following their decay: as in those of the Assirians, Persians, Medes, and the Empires more knowne to us by Histories, of the Greekes, and Romanes. Therefore howsoever strength, and an innated boldnesse, are propagated, and come by Nature, yet true fortitude is not found in the North, nor in the South, nor proceedes from nature, but where learning flourisheth, and cowardice is reputed basenesse, and where the word of God teaching the immortality of the soule, and the vanities of mortall life, most raigneth, there men are most valiant.

*Wit and
wisdome.*

Also they affirme, that the Southerne men are more wittie, and more wise, then Northerne, because the barbarous Gothes and Northerne people, when they got great victories, yet could not make true use of them, but lost Provinces for want of wit and wisdome, in as short a time, as they got them by their valour and strength.

Surely variable fortune did exercise and tosse part of the Gothes, and vaudales, yet other part of the Gothes, and the Longobards, subdued the plaine Country of Italy, and there setled a long lasting Kingdome, calling it Lombardie. And though Hannibal were a

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Southerne man, yet of him, after the field woone by him at Canna, it was first said Hannibal thou knowest how to overcome, but thou knowest not how to make use of thy victorie. Besides that wit and wisdom cannot generally be thus joyned in one subject, except we will graunt that women commonly most wittie, are also commonly most wise. There is a mediocrity required in wisdom. *Noli altum sapere.* Be not too wise, even as Salomon adviseth not to be too just, (meaning in outward appearance, for the inward man cannot be too just.) But mediocrity (perhaps) will be judged rather to be found in the inhabitants of the worlds middle regions. Againe, howsoever wee may graunt, that the Italians, in the founding of their Empire, by valiant acts and learned writings, left notable markes and evidences of their wisdom, yet in our age they may (perhaps) be preferred to others, for some indowments of Nature, but must yeeld the preheminance of valour and learning to some other Nations. The vaine wisdom of man tires it selfe in vaine, while it attributes so many and so great changes in the world, to this or that Clime, or Starre, or any naturall cause, rather then to looke backe to the first mover of all humane things, and acknowledge his finger in the disposing of them.

They affirme that the Northerne people are most cruell, and Tacitus accuseth the Germanes, Transsilvanians, and olde Brittaines, of cruelty. Bodine disputes wittily against this opinion, first because fat men, as the Northerne, are better men then those who are leane, as the Southerne men be, and he calls Cæsar to witnesse, who was not afraid of the fat men, Anthony, and Dolabella, but of the leane men, Brutus and Cassius. *Cruellie.*

In my opinion, fat men, whose heate is decayed, are thereby lesse bold for any great enterprise. Onely I admire Luther, who alone, and weake, did wonderfully oppose himselfe to the great multitude of Papists, and power of the Popes. But I remember that Melancton, a leane man, and skilfull in the Greeke & Hebrew tongues,

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and universally learned, did assist him, yea the Germanes say that Melancton was more learned, and Luther more bold. So as, according to the course of the world, it is likely, that Melancton did much in that great worke, whereof Luther bare the name. Besides that we must attribute the happy and wonderfull reformation of Religion, to higher causes then those under the Moone, [III. i. 39.] namely, not to the naturall heate of men, but to the boldnesse proceeding from the divine heat of the holy spirit.

Bodine affirmes, that Northerne men, because they are fat, are lesse prone to the extremities of good or evill, and so concludes them to be lesse cruell, which he shewes by examples, in that the Carthaginians, and other people of the South, used to pull out eyes, to pull off the skinne, to burne with a slow fier, and to impale or set upon stakes, and to use like cruelties towards condemned men, and that those of America, use to smeare their children with the blood of their enemies: whereas on the contrary, the Romans were mercifull, first beheading condemned men, then by the law of Porcius, forbidding Citizens to be beaten with rods, after punishing by starving, & by banishment. In my opinion he might have added the lenity of the Britans, being more northward, where the greatest offences are punished with hanging, except treason, for which drawing and quartering are added, yet the severity thereof is commonly mittigated, by letting them hang till they be dead. Bodine addes, that Northerne men did alwaies assaile with open force, and were soone pacified, whereas Southerne men assailed with Fox-like craft, and were cruell to those that submitted to them: But in the end, while he confesseth, that the Germans being Northern, break the bones of condemned men upon the wheele; and that the Greekes being southerly, put to death by poyson of the Hemlocke, and that in Chios they mingle water to make them die without paine; by these contradictions he rather obscures then illustrates that which he would prove.

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For my part, while I consider these and like examples, so contrary in both kindes, together with the great changes of the World in divers times, so as they, who in one age were cruell, become in another age mercifull. While I consider the old integrity of the Romans, when they reproched the Carthaginians to be breakers of faith, and find them after to become greater breakers thereof, concluding that no faith is to be kept with Heretikes, with which note they brand any enemy at pleasure, and bringing in divellish equivocation, the plague of integrity, which takes away all faith among men; and lastly, proving these things not with words, but with fier and sword. Upon these considerations, I am induced to conclude, not onely for cruelty, but for all vices and vertues: That Southerne men, as more witty, if they be good, prove best, if ill, prove worst, and that the degrees of good or ill, proceed not from wit, but from the application of it to good or ill. Therefore not the North, nor the South, but Phylosophicall precepts, godly lawes, and the knowledge of Gods word, or otherwise the wants thereof, make men good or ill, and where knowledge, religion, and good lawes flourish, there vertues are practised, but among barbarous and superstitious people, living in Cimerian darkenesse, all vices have ever, and will for ever flourish. Abraham conceived just feare, lest for his Wives beauty he should suffer violence and death, only because the feare of God was not in those places where he sojourned: for this feare of God in himselfe mercifull, and so commanding his children to be mercifull, doth restraine the most fierce natures from offering any wrong to their neighbours. Also Phylosophy did keepe the very Heathen within limits of honesty and Justice, which as the Poet saith;

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros:

Doth soften manners with remorse,

And keeps them from a furious course.

In like sort old Writers affirme, that Northern men

*Perfidious-
nesse.*

are most perfidious: but nothing is more easie then in all sorts of men to find examples of perfidiousnes. Hircius witnesseth that the old Egyptians were naturally most perfidious, yet are they most southerly. In like sort, the Southerne Carthaginians were of old most infamous for treacherous acts. On the contrary, many Histories taxe northerne men, for breaking leagues: Also the Northerne Gothes & Southerne Spaniards, objected mutuall breaches of faith one to the other. Therefore (as I said) knowledge and religion are the causes of all vertues, as ignorance and atheisme or superstition, are the causes of all vices, neither are these causes hereditary to any clime or nation, but are dispersed through the world by supernal distribution diversly at divers times.

*Covetousnes
and
prodigality.*

[III. i. 40.]

They write that Southerne men are rather sparing and frugall then covetous, and that Northerne men are prodigall and given to rapine, but the Egyptian Cleopatra passed the Romans and all others in luxury: And at this day nothing can be added to the rapacitie and covetousnesse of the Turks, and more specially of those most towards the South, daily exercised both against Christians and among themselves. And this seemes to be attributed to their corrupt and tyrannicall forme of government, and to their ignorance of Religion, as also of liberall and manuell Arts, not to the situation of the Provinces. I confesse that in generall Southerne men are now more frugall in diet and apparrell then Northerne. But the Jewes and Southerne men are and ever have beene great usurers, extortioners, and amassers of treasure, so as they must also be reputed covetous. And as the Italians are most frugall, so have the Romanes in their riches beene monsters for Luxurie. So as the clime cannot be the cause. But indeede riches are cause of Pride and Luxurie, as the examples of all times and nations doe teach. And the same riches are cause of covetousnesse, according to the Poet. *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*, As money growes

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so groweth avarice. Prodigality at this day, not for the climes sake but for some other causes, may justly be imputed to Northerne men, yet this vice dispersing treasure vitiously, is not so great a vice as that of rapine and covetousnesse, hiding those treasures, and burying them from use.

Olde Writers taxe Southerne men most for Jealousie. *Jealousie.*
No doubt the most sharpe sights are sometimes dimmed, and so for what cause so ever, it must be confessed, that the sharpe witted Southerne men are to this day madly jealous, alwayes tormenting themselves with this restlesse passion, and using their wives like slaves, yet no whit more freed thereby from fatall hornes, though to preserve their wives chastitie they permit the Stewes, and that because they live among men, who no lesse vex themselves in finding meanes to enjoy these forbidden Loves, then the other are vexed in the courses to prevent their enjoying thereof, and because their wives so watched, thinke themselves to bewray simplicity and ignorant folly, if they omit any occasion of offending this way, though it were with never so base a man.

Having taxed the wittie Southerne men with jealousy, *Suspition.*
yet they in generall conclude, that Northerne men are most suspitious, and that upon a contrary cause, namely the defect of wit. No doubt they who are most guilty of their owne defects, take in worst part the whisperings & private laughters of those that are in their company. Yea I wil say of experience, that I found the Italians nothing nice to shew their strong Forts to me and other strangers, and that in Northerne parts the same were not to be seene by strangers, or at least with great difficulty. By which and like arguments easie to be brought, I am induced to thinke that want of true judgement is the cause of suspition, but not the sole nor yet the chiefe cause thereof. To omit many other causes, sometimes an ill conscience makes men suspitious, as we reade that our tyrant Richard the third, upon the least shadow or shaking of a leaf, had his hand upon his dagger. Againe the

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best and wisest men are justly suspitious, when they live among wicked men, or have necessarie affaires with them. Therefore let Southerne men consider, whether they use not more to wound their owne consciences with guiltinesse of wicked deedes, then Northerne men use to doe, and whether they be not more justly to be accused of treacheries, poysonings, and like high crimes, then the other. For no doubt the jealous Southerne men by guiltinesse of these crimes in spite of their wit and wisdom, shall become in all kinds most suspitious.

Madnesse.

Olde Writers affirme, that Southerne men are more prone to madnesse then the Northerne, and they report that infinite numbers of mad men are found in Affrique, where many Almes-houses are built onely to receive the sicke of this kinde, and that the South parts of Spayne doe abound with distracted men. And this is agreeable to nature, and the Rules of naturall Philosophie. For howsoever the situation of places cannot properly be the cause of any vertue or vice, yet it is probable, that it may cause diseases or health.

Venerie.

Bodine against the judgement of Hipocrates, proveth that Northerne men are more venerious then Southerne. First, because our bodies have greater inward heate in Winter then in Sommer, and so in Winter are more apt for the act of generation, the same reason being of a Northerne and Southerne bodie, as of Winter and Sommer. I should thinke that the hot and dry Southerne men are most prone to venery, but that the colde and moist Northerne Men are most potent therein.

[III. i. 41.]

Againe Aristotle saith, that they who ride most, are most venerious, which Bodine also objecteth against Hipocrates, who falsely holds that the Northerne mens riding makes them lesse fruitfull in generation. It is most certaine by our and all mens experience, that great part of Asia, and especially the Southerne Provinces, lie at this day waste or little inhabited, though Poligamy be permitted among them, (I meane the having of many wives for one man), and that all Europe on the contrary

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is wonderfully populous, and especially in the most Northerne parts, though no man hath more then one wife allowed him: By this one argument it is most manifest that the Northerne men are most potent for generation; And it is no lesse manifest that Southerne men have more desire, by the multitude of their wives, their libidinous using the love of boyes, and all mens consent so generall, as it needs no further prooffe: yea, men of experience say, that Northerne men only travelling towards the South, are more and more troubled with this restlesse desire.

Bodine disputes that Southerne men are longer lived then Northerne, (contrary to the opinion of Pliny): First because Elephants, who (as Aristotle saith) have the longest lives of all other, are onely found in the South. I remember that the Turkes at this day repute them old women, or past the age of love, who are come to the age of 25 yeeres; and that my selfe did see few or no men in Asia, who had gray beards, and if any had grey hayres, it was not for the number of their yeeres, but because they grow old sooner then Northerne men. I cannot so well speake of other Nations, where I lived a short time, and as a stranger; but I remember, that in Beverly a Towne of Holdernes in England, there lived in our age one Jemings a Carpenter, whom the men of those parts report, to have lived 120 yeeres, and that he married a young woman some few yeeres before his death by whom (being of good fame) he had foure children, and that his eldest sonne by his first wife, then living, was 100 yeeres old, or thereabouts, but was so decrepitate, as he was rather taken for the father then the sonne. And lest I should seeme by one Swallow to make summer, as the Proverbe is, the men of Hereford-shire can witnes, that such examples are not rare in England, where in the raigne of King James, they made a morris-dance of fifteene persons, all borne in the same County, or within the compasse of 24 miles, who made 1500 yeeres betweene them, some being little lesse then 100 yeeres old,

Long life.

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and some farre passing that age. Many such examples are not wanting in England and Ireland, to prove that Northerne men are longest lived. My selfe have knowne some, and have credibly heard of many more weomen, of one 100 yeeres age, in these Kingdomes. The Irish report, and will sweare it, that towards the West they have an Iland, wherein the Inhabitants live so long, as when they are weary and burthened with life, their children in charity bring them to die upon the shoare of Ireland, as if their Iland would not permit them to die. In our time the Irish Countesse of Desmond, lived to the age of about 140 yeeres, being able to goe on foote foure or five miles to the Market Towne, and using weekly so to doe in her last yeeres, and not many yeeres before shee died, shee had all her teeth renewed. Againe, Bodine may best be confuted with his owne argument: for as he saith that Surtherne men are longest lived, so he confesseth that they are most given to venery, whereas they that are like the Cocke Sparrow, cannot be long lived: And whereas old writers affirme that the Inhabitants of the middle regions are of shortest life, because Southerne men used to great heate, and Northern men used to great cold, can easily beare them both; but the Inhabitants of the middle regions, being oppressed both with cold and heate, are subject to these changes of the Ayre, which breed diseases and old age. This seemes to me as if they should say, that custome makes extreme things, but not temperate things, to be tollerable, since these of the middle regions are no lesse used to the changes of their temperate ayre, then the others are to the extremities, and their changes.

Give me leave to say, contrary to the vulgar opinion, that the purenes or any properties of the ayre, doe not so much cause long or short life, as the changes of ayre by long journies, or by removing mens dwellings from one ayre to another, which changes are more powerfull, the more violent they are, and that to men of all climes, whether they journey or remove dwelling, from the

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North to the South, or from the South towards the North. This experience teacheth by many examples. First, of great travellers, whereof infinite numbers in youth die before they returne home. Secondly, of those that dwell in the Fennes of Lincolnshire, and of Essex in England, where they that are borne, and live all their dayes in those Fennes, and in that unhealthfull ayre, live to be of very olde age, and with good health; but if they remove dwelling to a purer ayre, soone die, as likewise they that are borne in purer ayre, and come after to dwell in those Fennes, live very short time. This in generall I say, because many very aged people are found in those Fennes, but particularly I am confirmed in this opinion, as by many other, so by one pleasant example, of a Husbandman, whom my selfe did see in Essex, who dwelling in the Fennes not farre off, was threescore yeares olde, healthfull, and like to live long, and within few yeares past had married and buried eight wives, all which hee had brought to his house in the Fennes, upon one Nagge of some fortie shillings price, for these women borne in purer ayre, soone died after they came to dwell with him in the Fennes.

Many prove that Southerne men are most religious, *Religion.* by their sumptuous Churches (in which it is a great trespasse so much as to spet,) by the very Princes of Affrick entring the profession of Monkes, by their Fasts, frequent praying, whipping of themselves, lawes made against irreligious persons, and the Pontificiall habit of their Kings. On the contrarie they affirme that Northerne men (as women and children soone make and as soone breake leagues of amitie) doe soone and greedily imbrace any Religion, and no lesse speedily cast it off againe. As the Ostrogothes and Visigothes, being driven from their seate, became Christians under the raigne of the Emperour Valens, and soone after terrified with burnings, fell from the Christian Faith. And the Gothes in Italy first became Christians, then Arrians. Yea, Gotland soone received the Christian Faith, and presently returned

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to their Idolatrie. And the Turkes soone fell to the Arabians Religion. As also Tartares were easily drawne on both hands for the point of Religion. And lastly, the Germanes taxing the Papall frauds (together with their neighbours) did of their owne accord fall from the Popes obedience, without any force or violent constraining. But on the contrarie, that Southerne men ever did slowly imbrace any new Religion, and howsoever they were often devided into Sects, yet could never be drawne to change their Religion without miracles and force of Armes. So as Antiochus by no torment could draw any one of seven brethren, or their mother that exhorted them to be constant, so much as to tast Swines flesh. It is easie to oppose examples and arguments to the fore-said examples and arguments. If we behold the Temples, Monasteries, Bels, and other old ornaments or religious vestures of our Northerne Iland England, no doubt they farre passe those of the South, where neither the present Churches building, nor the ruines of like olde building, shew the like (if any) magnificence. Yea, rather the Sepulchres then the Moschees (or Churches) of the South, may be thought sumptuous. Neither want we examples of Northerne Kings (as of the Saxons in England, and Gothes in Italy) who put on Monks habits: nor yet of Nations in Europe, who have violently with much suffering maintained their rites of Religion. Moreover, see how these men omit to distinguish superstition from Religion. They confesse that the Northerne men first discovered the Papall fraudes, yet they will also have them more simple, whence it followes, that the sharpe-witted Southerne men did first see these fraudes, and cover them for feare of the Popes persecutions, or because they esteemed Religion onely a State policie, and knowing the truth yet abstained from reformation. Surely Petrarch, Dantes, and other free wits of Italy did see the Papall frauds before the Germanes, and though fearefully yet plainly pronounced Rome to be Babylon. But our Northerne Luther, when at Rome he had seene the

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licentious Romanes, and their criminall frauds, could not abstaine, but he must needes divulge these impostures of Religion, and being weake for his defence, yet could not but oppose himselfe to most powerfull enemies. Northerne men are soone drawne with the love of Religion, the out-side whereof the Southerne men can skilfully paint over, that under the pretext of feare due to God, they like Foxes, may command over Lyons, which our good Epimethei at last by the events perceiving, doe so much abhorre all hypocrisie and whorish painting of Religion, as by no danger they can bee frighted from professing truth, whose constancy in suffering persecution for the same is abundantly witnessed, by the multitude of them burnt in France, as Sleyden writes of his owne sight, and by the more violent, at least, more lasting persecution of them by fier under Marie, late Queene of England. Therefore let us say, that Northerne men are easily drawne to the true Religion, and by no terrors can bee kept from reforming corruptions growing therein: for in that without torments, and of free will they are drawne to professe the truth, this proves them most religious; and in that Southerne men still hold their old opinion, this proves, that they preferre the peace of the World, before the peace of Conscience. And in that the Northerne Magistrates (I speake of our Reformed Churches) seeke rather to teach and perswade Religion, then to force it by fier and sword, this proves that they are more godly and milde, then those of the South, who tyrannically persecute their owne subjects differing from them in Religion. Shall I attribute it to the constancy of the Spaniards, that they dare not lift up a finger against the tyrannie of their Clergie? or rather to the basenesse of their minds, and the unspeakable tyranny of the Inquisition, punishing innocent and nocent without distinction if they never so little crosse the ambitious pride and covetousnesse of the Clergiemen. They who live in the Kings and generally approved Religion of their Countrie, injoying all priviledges, these in this particular

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may rather bee thought secure then religious, and they who dare professe the Religion which they judge to bee true, though it bee done against their Kings Edicts, and with losse of goods and life, (of which kind wee have notable examples in Northerne parts) these men doe more feare God then man, and truly deserve to be called religious. Besides it must not bee granted, that all Northerne people have thus voluntarily and speedily yeelded to the profession of the reformed Religion: for in Ireland farre towards the North, few or none are found of the Natives, who in this so cleare light of the Gospell have cast of the Roman Religion. Yet is not this to be attributed to their constancy in Religion, but rather to the lenitie of the reformed profession, which thinkes that the conscience must not be forced, or perhaps to the Magistrates fault, having taken small or no good orders to have the people instructed in the truth, or lastly and most of all to the ignorant blindnesse of this Nation, which doth not willingly receive any Rules and Lawes of civill life, or religious reformation, or rather frowardly opposeth the same, and so as children prise their bables, they more obstinately retaine the outward Pharisaicall holinesse of the South, in burning wax light, having Images, and externall pompe of Copes and Processions, and like humane traditions. Lastly, if we shall consider well the above mentioned position of old Writers, namely, that Northerne men are more blockish and ignorant, by that reason it will follow, that Northerne men are more hardly drawne from any received opinion. For ignorant men are also suspitious, and hardly admit any that bring innovations, the rather because they are lesse capable of their perswading arguments. So the Philosopher said of a Citie in Greece, that the Citizens were so blockish, as they could not be led by eloquence. In like sort the Professors of Alchumy seldome deceive any ignorant persons, who would answer as Cicero speaketh of South-sayers: thou promisest mee Kingdomes, and yet beggest a groat of mee: but wee daily see, that witty men and

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learned, are often caught and drawne to expence by their abstruse darke arguments. Therefore in my opinion it should bee said, that the Religion of Southerne men, by the outward ceremonies, is, like Sepulchers, sumptuous without, but that the Religion of the Northerne men is glorious within. Or if, setting humane experience aside, we will waigh this by the holy scales of the Sanctuarie, wee shall finde undoubtedly, that wee can neither in North nor South come to God, or flie from him at our pleasure, but that God in what Countrie soever, imparteth his light to his chosen children, which hee hides from potent Kingdomes, and men more wise and mightie in their owne sight.

Old Writers affirme, that Northerne men have softer skinnnes then Southerne men, as women have them in generall softer then men. Whereupon Bodine saith, that the transalpine men comming into Italy, are much troubled with Fleaes, and biting Flies. But in my opinion, howsoever wee may truly say, that Northerne men have whiter skins, and many times by the accident of fatnes softer then the common sort there, yet the Ethiopians and other people of Affrique dwelling neere the extremest South on this side the line, as they have properly white teeth, so is their skinne (howsoever tanned) farre softer then the skinnnes of any nation whatsoever, by the common consent of all men. [III. i. 44.]
Softnesse of skinne.

They account Southerne men to be mostly cleanly and neat of body, as well for their frequent use of Bathing and continuall washings, as for that they will not endure any the least filth or spot upon their apparrell, especially the Turkes upon their Tulbent (or white linnen worne upon their heads,) and keepe their houses in like sort from all filth, but above all are curious in keeping their Churches, in which it were no small trespassse so much as to spet, (which in common conversation they take for an offence, as if he that spets were wearie of their company, and in deede by the Nature of the Clime and continuall bathing in hot Bathes, they take away the *Cleanlinesse.*

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rheume, so as they are not troubled with coughing and spetting.) If any man object that the Germanes use bathing, if not so continually as the Turkes, yet very often, surely the Germanes use it not for cleanliness, but to dry up the grosse humours which they get by intemperate drinking, and they are otherwise more slovenly in their apparrell, in their Stoves and all manner of linnen, if they be compared with Southerne nations, and nothing lesse then cleanly if they be compared with other Northerly nations of Europe.

Luxurie. They write that of olde, the Southerne men passed all other in luxurie, as well of apparrell as diet, and they alledge that the Romanes had Oysters out of Britanie, and that Anthony himselfe being a Romane, and much given to this luxurie, yet was farre surpassed therein by Cleopatra, a more Southerly Queene of Egypt. But at this day it may be confidently said, that they are nothing lesse then luxurious in either kinde, as shall be shewed more at large in this volume, and in the Chapter treating of the divers diets and apparrell of severall nations.

Levitic. The French in Europe, and the Syrians in Asia, but most especially the Greekes in Europe, being all inhabitors of middle Regions, are by olde Writers taxed with levity. Bodine confesseth that the French are more quicke and nimble, and as inhabitors of a middle Region, also more chearefull, since the Northerne men by grosse humours, and the Southerne men by Melancholly, are made more slowe, and in this sence he is content levity should be imputed to them, for otherwise he brings many arguments, why Northerne men should be light or inconstant, Southerne men should be obstinate, and the inhabitors of middle Regions, (among whom he contains the French) should be constant. But howsoever he cannot have the patience, to have levity (that is inconstancie in word and deede) attributed to the French, yet no doubt by the generall consent of Nations, the French, in apparrell, gesture, in counsels of peace and warre, and more specially in the raising of civill warres, are nothing

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lesse then constant and grave, if they be compared with the wise Italians, and delatorie Spaniards. Besides that levity, which they put in swiftnesse and nimblenesse, must be attributed to the Irish, above any Nation, of the middle, or whatsoever Regions.

The olde Writers affirme, that the Southerne Nations are more fortunate, which they prove by many arguments, yet among those, whom they judge thus fortunate, the Egyptians were ever slaves to more Northerne nations, excepting those ages, wherein their Pharoes, Ptolemyes; and Sultans (Rebels to the Emperour,) ruled over them. And for the most part Southerne men have had the fortune to serve others, and no doubt slaverie is no badge of good fortune. If they object the olde saying, that all ill comes from the North, it is true that Northerne men have commonly conquered the South, and so they bring ill to others, rather then have it themselves, and ill may be said to come from the North, rather then to be in the North. But if they judge the South happy, because it first had the knowledge of Gods word, the Art Militarie, learning, policie, civility, and Empires. Some are of opinion that these, and all good or ill things, are circularly caried through the world, and communicated to all Nations at divers times. And (perhaps) Justus Lipsius, in our age, observing this, by the reading of Histories, did thereupon prophetic of an Empire from the West, as if the Spaniards with their West-Indians, should have the Empire of the World, and all good things that follow it, which hope of theirs, though formerly feared, our age hath broken. I undertake not to know future things, as he did, but for the old Writers opinion, this I know that the above named fortunate things, came from the East, rather then the South: And if they will needs have them to come from the South, yet as it first had them, so it first lost them, neither is it so great happines to have had any good, as it is misery to have lost it: so as the South may be said to have beene fortunate of old, but to be miserable now, and the North now injoying

*Fortunate-
nesse.*

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these things to be fortunate for the present, yet not to have been miserable of old in the want of them, which then they knew not, and so never desired them: For as the Poet saith; Ignoti nulla Cupido: Unknowne, undesired.

*Divels, and
the possessed
with divels.*

Lastly, old Writers affirme, that few or no Divels are in the South, by reason of the plentiful light, which was thought to drive them away, and the subtilnesse of the Ayre, which could not beare them, and that whole Armies of Divels and Witches were in the North. They are very tender hearted to the Divels tormented with fier, in giving them the cold North to inhabit: yet of old, they say the gate of hell was at the Lake of Avernus, in the territory of Naples: Have the Roman Bishops possessed this gate with their squadrons, so as Northerne men can no more passe that way? Hath wickednesse increased? or are they more unkinde to us then the Heathen Romans, that now in the age of the World they force Northerne men to find out a new gate at the Mountaine Hecla in Iseland? But to speake seriously: The Platonists, and some of the Christian Fathers following them, doe give bodies both to good and ill Angels. Aristotle and his Peripatetikes, and our Schoolemen following them, hold that Angels are simple and abstract intelligences, and substances altogether without bodies. Zanchius comparing all their arguments, concludes, that Angels may take bodies, and are not in many places at once, but in one place, and move with these bodies as swiftly as the windes, so as nothing can hinder their motion, being made in time unperceivable by us. By which it may be gathered, that their substances, not taking any body, are so subtile, as they need not to be sustained by the Ayre: And if they imagine that Ayry Divels are sustained by thicke Ayre, yet watry and earthy Divels, (for such bodies they also give them), are not hindered by any subtilnesse of Ayre, to compasse the Earth. If Southerne men have such store of light as they write, let me merrily aske them, why the Southerne, as

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well Papists, as Turkes, burne so many candles by day light, which Northerne men use not in these dayes, nor ever used, but as received from them: but I grant that the light of the Gospell, (not any other light), drives away Divels, since the Divell is the Prince of this World, but not of the Children of light: And the want of the Gospels light makes so many Witches in Lapland upon the Baltike Sea, which are most rare in England, (so farre in the North, as the old Romans said they were divided from the World). Before the preaching of the Gospell, the Druydes in France, the Heathen Priests pronouncing Oracles, and the German weomen foretelling things to come, were as I thinke witches, but all these witchcrafts ceased after the comming of Christ. For Witches and Conjurers, I will not denie them to be here in the North, as in all the World; for the Divell is every where ready to devoure his prey: but prophane Histories, and even the Holy Scriptures witnesse, that the Egyptians and Chaldeans, were of old most famous Sorcerers: yea, the very Northerne Weomen, which goe about and tell fortunes, are for the reputation of their Art called Gypsies, and have their faces tanned, that they may seeme to be Southerne Weomen, (which sort are in Italy called Singari). In Tripoli of Syria, at Haleppo, and in the Cities of Cilicia, they shew places at this day, where frogs and the very sand are enchanted, with pillars erected over the places, lest they should grow and destroy the Countrey, and where they confidently affirme treasure to be hid and guarded by spirits. When I returned from Constantinople, a Gentleman came in my company, who brought the great Turkes Letters (after his siege of Agria) to our Queene Elizabeth, the copy whereof he did shew me, translated into Latin, wherein I remember these words; That day, because we perceived the invisible spirits to be on our left hand, wee did forbear to fight with the Germanes, but the next day the same spirits being turned on our sides towards the East, my most valiant Souldiers encouraged with this helpe,

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*A Priest
casting out a
devill.*

assailed the Christian Army, and with our exceeding glory defeated it. To conclude, the Romane Priests of later times, invented and taught us in the North, to hallow Water, Crosses, Belles, and Candles, by incantations, and at this day, either there be in Italy very many possessed with Divels, or else many say that they are so possessed, perhaps hired by the Priests, that they may glory in healing them, (which is not incredible.) For my selfe at Loreto in Italy, (in the Church whereof the Papists use no lesse superstition, then the Heathen did at the Oracle of Delphos), I say my selfe did see a Priest casting a devill (as they said) out of an old woman with strange inchantments, and hee did so familiarly call that Divell and all his Legion by their names, as I much wondred thereat; for wee Northerne men have not such exquisite knowledge of the hellish Squadrons. And it is ridiculous but true, that while I seemed thus astonished, a young Priest without a beard came to me, and told me a long fable, of a horrible Divel which had been there cast out, yet before his departure, shewed to the Priest a stone in the next window, upon which the Angel Gabriel stood, when he foretold the Virgin Marie of Christs Nativitie, crying that hee was cast out by the holinesse of that stone, not of the Priest. This I heard with great attention, and with shew of astonishment, but with my selfe I thought it strange, that they should in this beleieve the Divell the father of lies; and I could not but see the singular craft of the Priests, who by this art found a new idoll for the people to worship, and greedily drew great and new oblations to themselves, not content to have the opinion of holinesse, in seeming to cast out that divell, except they should also obtrude this fraud to the people. For if the Divell had beene the Priests most faithfull friend, hee could have found nothing more profitable to them, then this divelish invention. But I returne to the purpose. As an old Father said, that he saw but one Divell in the Market-place, where most of the buyers and sellers were his owne, but many Divels

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in the Church, that they might lay snares for them that rebelled against the power of Hell: let those who defend this opinion, and thrust whole Armies of Divels into our Northerne parts, so and for the same reason say, that one Divell is in the South, and Legions in the North. Or if they like not this assertion, let them say, that ayrie Divels are in the North sustained by the thicke ayre thereof, and confesse, that the subtile ayre of the South not bearing them, yet there be whole Legions of watry and earthy bodied Divels, living within the same walles among men.

Old Writers reproch the French with Gluttonie, the Jewes with Envie, the Persians with Perfidiousnesse, the Egyptians with Craft, the Greekes with Deceit, the Saracens with savage Crueltie, the Chaldeans with Levitie, the Africans with desire of change, the Lombards with Vaine-glory, the Hunnes with Crueltie, the Suevians with Slovenlinesse, the French with Fiercenesse, the Saxons with Foolishnesse, the Pictes with Hardnesse, the Scots with Lust, the Spanyards with Violence, the Brittans with Anger, the Normans with Rapacitie.

*Proverbial
speeches of
Nations in
generall.*

In like sort for grace they attribute, Prudency to the Hebrewes, stabilitie to the Persians, subtile practising or policy to the Egyptians, sapience (that is, knowledge Divine and Human) to the Greekes, gravity to the Romans, quicknesse of spirit called sagacity, to the Chaldeans, wittines to the Assyrians, firmenes to the Galles, fortitude to the Francks, fidelity to the Scots, quipping subtlety to the Spaniards, hospitalitie to the Brittaines, communion of all things to the Normans.

Aulus Gellius in his seventh booke, and the sixteenth Chapter, thus reckons the daintie meates of Cities and Nations. The Peacocke of Samos and Phrigia. The Cranes of Melica, the Kid of Ambracia. The fish called a Thinnye of Calcedonia. The Lamprey of Tartessia. The Aselli (a kind of Codfish of the colour of an Asse) of the Pessinuntians. The Oysters of Tarentum. The

*Daintie
meates.*
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little Scalop of Chios. The fish called Elops of Rhodes. The fish that cheweth like a beast called Carus, of Cilicia. The Nuts of Thasia, the Palme of Egypt, the Acorne or Mast of Iberia, (that is of Spaine.)

Divine Law. They write, that the Divine Law came from Italy to the Transalpines, from Greece to Italy, from Egypt to Greece, from the Hebrewes to Egypt, from Gods owne mouth to the Hebrewes. (In like sort I would say, that military discipline came to us from the Assirians and Persians, and that liberall sciences came to us from the Chaldeans.)

Nations. The Nations of the World were called Gentiles by the Hebrews, and Barbarians by the Greekes, and at this day the Northerne Nations are called Transalpini (men beyond the Alpes) by the Italians in a kind of reproch.

They say that Charles the fifth Emperour of Germany was wont to say, that the King of Spaine ruled over Asses, doing nothing without blowes and violence. The King of France over men, and the Emperour over Kings. And when one of the standers by said, that the Polonians also had their King. I grant said he that he is their King (meaning, that his power was limited by them.)

The same Emperour is said to have thus spoken of the languages; in the Italian tongue. La lingua Todescha è per commandare, l' Italiana per far' amore, la Francese per far' mercantia, la Spagnuola per far' misericordia: that is in English. The Germans tongue is fit to command, the Italian to make love, the French to trafficke, or buy and sell, the Spanish to move mercy.

*Passing over
of griefe.*

To passe over griefe, the Italians sleepe, the French sing, the Germans drinke, the English goe to Plaies, the Spaniards lament, as likewise the Irish (save that rudely they utter their griefe by cries in the open streetes), the Low-country-men or Flemmings, the Bohemians, the Danes, the Polonians, and other farre Northerne Nations use the same remedy of drinking, which the Germans

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use. This Proverbiall speech I containe in these two verses;

Somnœ Itali, cantu Galli, vinoque Alemanni,
Scæna Angli, planctu mæsti recreantur Hiberi.

Italians sleepe, French sing, Dutch drinke away their
griefe,
English at Plaies, Spaniards lamenting, find reliefe.

The Greekes in bed, the Italians at Table are accounted
most neate of all other.

The French are said to excell in singing and dancing,
the Italians in fencing and riding great Horses, the Dutch
or Germans, like Bulles, never to assaile, but repell force
by force.

The Germans are said to woe like Lyons, rather by *Woeing.*
commanding then obsequiousnes, the Italians like foxes
stealingly creeping into their sweet-hearts affections, the
Spaniards like religious Friers, worshipping the idoll of
beauty with astonishment. The French like Bees
presently stinging. Of like variety of loves affections
in divers Nations, these verses are vulgar.

Gallus amat celerem pede non remorante puellam,
quæ lenis est, certis & satu apta modis.

Hispano magis illa placet, cui forma benigna est,
cui Venus ex oculis semper amica nitet.

Italus at timidæ lætatur amore puellæ,
dulcia quæ veneris prælia sæpe fugit.

Virgo sed audaci quæ provocat ore Magistrum,
Illa est Germano dulcis amica viro.

The Frenchman loves a nimble lasse,
that gently as you cast her lyes.

Spaniards love her, that like a glasse
darts beauty at him from her eyes.

Italians love a fearefull wench,
that often flies from Venus sport.

To her that at the drinking bench
challengeth love, the Dutch resort.

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- Love.* In love the Germans are said to be ambitious, the French light, the Spaniards impatient, the Italians jealous to their great torment.
- Behaviour.* The Germans gesture or behaviour is said to bee Fencerlike, the Frenchmans soft and gentle, the Italians grave, the Spaniards proud.
- Walkeing.* The German is said to walke like a dunghill cocke, the French in hast speedily, the Italians somewhat slowly, the Spaniards disdainefully.
- Countenance.* The Germans looke or countenance is said to be fierce, the French mans flattering, the Italians constant, the Spaniards loftie.
- Speech.* The Germans speech is said to be manly, the Frenchmans sweet and fluent, the Italians winning the Auditors, the Spaniards flexible.
- Manners.* The Germans manners are said to be rusticall, the Frenchmans light, the Italians gracious, the Spaniards magnificall.
- Apparrell.* The Germans apparrell is said to bee constant without any curiosity, the Frenchmans luxurious and carelesse, the Italians neate, the Spaniards decent, (me thinks their hose and ruffs are nothing lesse then comely.)
- Singing.* For singing Art, the Germans are said to houle, the Flemmings to sing, the Spaniards to sob, the French to deskant, the Italians to bleate. Or otherwise: The Italians to lament, the Germans to crie, the French to sing: or otherwise: The Spaniards weep, the Italians sigh, the English bleate like Goats, the Germans bellow, the French sing.
- Speech.* In speech the Germans are said to be simple, the French ready, the Italians subtle, the Spaniards bragging.
- Towards strangers.* Towards strangers the Germans are said to be unhospitall (I thinke otherwise), the French Gentle, the Spaniards flattering, the Italians officious (no doubt, if you respect outward Offices).
- Conversation.* In conversation the Germans are said to bee imperious and intollerable (I should say they are peaceable when they are sober, and diversly affected according to their

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severall natures, when they are drunken), the French mild (I would rather say trifeling and cerimonious), the Spaniards wary, the Italians wise.

In hatred the Germans are said to be revengefull (I should grant that they bee cruell upon Victory), the French threatning (sure they depose hatred when the bloud is cold), the Spaniards obstinate, the Italians secret (no doubt, and both they and the Spaniards great revengers upon any unequall termes.) *Hatred.*

In businesse, the Germans are said to be industrious, the French carefull, the Spaniards vigilant, the Italians circumspect. *Businesse.*

The Germans are said to bee singular in manuell Arts, the French in Civility, the Spaniards in Navigation, Italians in Learning. But with favour, I should thinke the Italians were of old more famous for learning, then now they are. And howsoever the Spaniards had the fortune to find out the new world, yet they must yeeld to the Brittans and Flemmings in the Art, or at least the practice of Navigation. *Severall Arts.*

The Italians and Spaniards are said to be wise before the act, the French in the act, the Germans after the act. Otherwise it is said in the Italian tongue: I Spanuoli paiono savii e sono pazzi: I Francesi paiono pazzi e sono saveii, l' Italiani paiono e sono savii: I Porrtughesi ne paiono ne sono savii: that is, The Spaniards seeme wise and are fooles. The French seeme fooles, but are wise. The Italians seeme and are wise. The Portugals neither seeme nor are wise. *Wise.*

In France the Kings Treasurers, in England Dukes, are said to bee fatallly miserable.

The Germans are said to invade their enemies land like Life (that is slowly), the French like Fleaes, (now biting, now driven away), the Spaniards like Crablice (sticking fast.) *Invasion.*

The Italian women are said to be given to the study of humanity, the French to the learning of languages, the Flemmings especially to the skil of languages, the Germans to houshold affaires. *Women.* [III. i. 49.]

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*Womens
Apparrell.*

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In apparrell the Italian women are said to be neate and grave (onely the Venetians shew their necks and breasts naked) the French light & variable, the Spaniards proud, the Germans foolish (perhaps because they weare extreme straight sleeves on their armes, and guard one and the same gowne with many and divers coloured guards), the Flemmings fine (no doubt they, and especially the Brabanders, excell for white and fine linnen, and for generall comlinessse of their garments.)

*Divers
womens
conditions.*

The Italian women are said to bee sharpe witted, the Spanish blunt (I should hardly thinke it), the French simple (I should rather say most crafty, as most women are every where), the Germanes good mothers of family (yea exceeding good.)

The Spanish women are said to be painted, the Italians somewhat lesse painted, the French seldome painted, and sometimes the Germaine Virgins (never that I observed, except those of Prussen have perhaps borrowed this vice of the Moscovites their neighbours.)

She is said to bee a faire woman, that hath the face of an Englishwoman, the bodie (from the neck to the navell) of the French, the other parts of the Flemmish. To this purpose are the verses in Latin;

Triginta hæc habeat quæ vult formosa vocari
Fœmina: sic Helenam fama fuisse refert, &c.

She must have thirtie things that faire is counted,
In which they say faire Helena surmounted, &c.

the rest I omit for the wantonnesse of them.

*Proverbiall
speeches of
Travellers in
generall.*

The Italians say in their tongue; Queste cose sirichiedono nel' viandante, l' occhio di Falcone (per veder' lontany), l' orecchie d' Asino (per udir' bene), il viso di simia (per essere pronto al riso), la bocea di porcello (per mangiar' d' ogni cosa), le Spalle di Camelo (per portar' some conpatienza), le gambe di Cervo (per fuggir' pericolo) e un' sacchone pien' pieno di danari (perche chi ha danari, signore e chiamato.) That is in English; These things are required in a Traveller, the eye of a Hawke

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(to see farre off), the eares of an Asse (to heare the least whispering), the face of an Ape (to bee ready to laugh in soothing), the mouth of a Hogge (to eate whatsoever is set before him), the backe of a Camell (to beare burthens patiently), the legge of a Hart (to flie from danger) a huge great purse top full of gold (because he that hath mony, is called Lord.) We in England vulgarly say, that a Traveller to Rome must have the backe of an Asse, the belly of a Hogge, and a conscience as broad as the Kings high way

*What things
are to be
required in
Travellers.*

The Italians say,

Cinque hore dorme un' viandante,
Sette un' studiante, nove ogni furfante.

A Traveller five howers doth crave
For sleepe, a Student seven will have,
And nine sleepes every idle knave.

The Italians advise a Traveller: Ch' il suo cavallo sia governato d' amico, ma cavalcato da nemico: That he should meate and dresse his horse like a friend, but ride him like anemie.

Riding.

The Italian Travellers say, Da l' hoste nuovo, & da la putana vecchia Dio ci guarda: From a new host, and an old Harlot, God deliver us.

Of the Cities in Germany, they say in the vulgar tongue: Ulm die reichest, Augspurg die hoffertigest, Trier die eltest, Nurnberg die Witzigest, Strasburg die edlest. That is: Ulme the richest, Augsburg the proudest, Trier the eldest, Nurnberg the wittiest, Strasburg the noblest.

*Proverbiall
speeches in
particular of
Germany,
Bohemia, and
Sweitzerland.*

That all Germany is blind, onely Nurnberg hath one eye.

Of the Bishopricks upon the Rheine. That Chur is the highest (because it is seated upon the highest Alpes, neere the Spring head of the Rheine), Costnetz the amplest, Basil the sweetest or pleasantest, Strasburg the noblest (because no man is a Canon of that Church, which

*Bishopricks
upon Rheine.*

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is not an Earle or a Baron of seventeene discents) Spire the most religious, Metz the most venerable (as the chiefe among the Electors Clergy-men), Colin the richest, Trior the most ancient.

*Italian
Curtisans.*

The Italian Curtisans say, that a German makes love like a Clowne, doth that worke like an Asse, and paies like a Prince: which the Germans also say in the same words of their vulgar tongue; Eine Deutscher bulet wie ein bawer, fûchst wie ein esel, und bezalt wie ein fürst.

*Germans
speeches.*

The Germans say, that Suevia alone hath whores, Franconia robbers and beggers, Bavaria pilfering theeves, Helvetia hangmen and Baudes, Frisia and Westphalia perjured persons, and Saxony drunkards, more then enough to serve al long and broad Germany.

Students.

That the Students of Gena ply the Citterne, those of Wittenberg the pot, and those of Leipzig the playing at Cards.

Citizens.

That the Citizens of Lubeck are Lords, those of Luneburg Gentlemen, those of Hamburg Clownes, and of the Hamburgers these verses are vulgar;

Hamburgenses sunt velut enses, semper acuti,
Prælia poscunt, nec bene noscunt, ensibus uti.

Hamburgers be, like swords we see, sharpe to dandle,
Have warres they will, yet have not skill, swords to handle.

*The West-
Phalians.*

That West-Phalians devoure gammons of bacon, and have poore Innes (vulgarly arme wirtshausen), browne bread (vulgarly cranck broat, that is, sicke bread), thin drink (vulgarly dinne bier) & long miles (vulgarly langhen meyen.) And to this Proverbiall speech is added in the vulgar tongue; gloubst du night, lauff da, zu beschawen: that is, If thou beleevest not, walke thither to trie it.

Of Hessen Land they have this vulgar rime.

Hohe berg, und tieffe thall, grobe speisse uberall.
Hart bett, und sawre wein, wer wolt ihm land zu hessen sein.

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High Mounts, and Vallyes deepe, with grosse meates all
annoide :

Sowre wine, hard beds for sleepe : who would not Hessen
land avoide?

The Silesians in reproch are called Esellfra'sser, that is, *The Silesians.*
devourers of Asses, and the Silesians She-Asse, is called
the mother of Hares. And if any German will put the
Asse upon another cunningly, he will say, that the other
was never in Silesia.

The Sweitzers are by the Germans in reproch called *Sweitzers.*
ku'milcher, that is, Cow milkers, because the men use
to milke Cowes.

Bohemia I passed with speede, and was unskilfull in
the language, so as I never observed any proverbiall
speech among them of this kind, neither hath it been my
chance since that time to reade any such speeches in
approved Authors.

Among the Cities of Netherland, Harlam is called *Proverbiall*
great (though at that time the designed building of *speeches of*
Amsterdam made it much greater in circuit.) Leyden is *Netherland or*
called faire, Delph rich, Torg Catholike. Those of *the Low-*
Bruxelles are called devourers of Pullin, or Capon-eaters, *Countries.*
the Hollanders rude (vulgarly plump) and the Nether-
landers in general hasen kopen, that is, Hare-heads, and
because they feede much on butter, they are called butter-
mouthes, and because daily passing to and fro in ships,
they use for avoiding of greater expences in Innes, to
carry with them boxes of butter, they are also called
butter-boxes by the English.

As I passed hastily through Denmarke and Poland, *Of Denmarke*
being ignorant in the languages, I did never heare any *and Poland.*
such Proverbiall speeches among them, neither had I ever
the hap to find any such in approved Authors.

Touching the Cities of Italy, it is proverbiably said *Proverbiall*
among them. Roma la santa, Paduoa la dotta, venetia *speeches of*
la ricca, Fiorenza la bella, Milano la grande, Bologna la *Italy.*
grassa, Ravenna l' antica, Napoli gentile, Genuoa Superba.
That is: Rome the holy, Paduoa the learned, Venice the

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rich, Florence the beautifull, Milan the great, Bologna the fat, Ravenna the ancient, Naples the Gentile, Genuoa the proud.

*The
dispositions
of Divers
Nations.* [III. i. 51.] In generall, the Italians are said to be mad twice in the yeere, at Shroftide (for their unspeakeable luxury in meate, wantonnesse, and all pleasures), and in Lent (for the no lesse wonderfull superstitions of that time.) For speech the Hetrurians are said to bee elegant, the Milanesi voluble, the Venetians slow, the Genoesi and Bergmaschi ridiculous. The Milanesi are said to excell in the study of the Civill Law, the Florentines in naturall Philosophy, the Calabrians in the Greeke tongue, the Neapolitans in the Hetrurian or Tuscan tongue, those of Lucca in Divinitie, those of Bologna in the Mathematicks, the Venetians in Musick, those of Ferrara, Paduoa and Salernum in Phisick, those of Sienna in Logick, those of Perusium in the Canon Law of the Popes, and those of Pavia in Sophistrie. They say, that the Merchants of Florence are crafty, those of Lucca covetous, the Venetians most bold (hazarding all in one ship), those of Milan honest (so as if they bee put to it, they will confesse, that the house they sell is infected with the plague.) The Calabrians are said to be officious to strangers in hope of gaine, the Neapolitanes to love all that excell in any vertue, those of Lucca to reverence strangers, and to defend them from wrongs. The Florentines to be officious towards them without hope of gaine, and to communicate their fortunes and counsels to them, if they stay long there. The Venetians to be officious in words. Those of Paduoa to be inhospitall, and likewise those of Genoa, even towards those who have deserved well of them. The Bergomaschi to be so inhumane as to hate strangers. The Milanesi to be officious towards them, even to their owne damage. Those of Parma to be covetous, but within short time to be weary of them. And those of Ferrara to be secret towards a stranger, though they have eaten a bushell of Salt with him. The Milanesi are said to be little jealous,

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and to hate fat women. The Mantuans to love women that can dance. The Florentines to love a modest woman, and one that loves home. The Neapolitanes to love a stately high-minded woman. Those of Lucca are said to love constantly, the Venetians contrarily, and to desire fat women with great dugs, but to love without choice, and to force them if others have enjoyed. The Ferrarians to hate their rivall. Those of Sienna to be rapt with faire faces. Those of Perusium to love them with white teeth and grey eyes. Those of Paduoa to love women with little brests, which makes their women use the juyce of Plantane to keep them from growing. Those of Genoa to love fervently, & to desire fat women, to be temperate in the use of them, and to hate those that smell of Perfumes. Those of Piacenza to be jealous, and once offended, to practice the murther of their Mistrisse and rivall. Those of Cremona to love one skilfull in musicall Instruments. Those of Ravenna one ruled at a beck. The Pisanes a plaine dealing open harted wench. Those of Crotona to think themselves never beloved enough, and to kill themselves if they cannot enjoy their love. Those of Pistoia seldom be jealous, but to hate the very wife of him that is of another faction. And those of Viterbo when their lust is satisfied, to set their Mistris to sale for profit. The Neapolitanes are said to wooe by Horsemanship and tilting. Those of Milan with feasts, and by slanderling the women that refuse them. Those of Ferrara by praises. Those of Mantuoa by maskes or dancing. Those of Perusium by threatning. The Venetians by boasting and magnificence. Those of Bologna by gifts. The Florentines by Sonnets. Those of Sienna by fained teares. Those of Lucca by obstinate loving. Those of Verona by obsequiousnesse. The Romans and Aretines by witty jests. In diet, the Neapolitanes are said to be gorgeous or honorable (spending more sugar then bread). The Florentines sparing, but wonderful clenly. Those of Lucca (therein as in al things) to keepe the golden meane. The Tyberine peares,

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and Martiolane cheeses, are accounted dainties. Those of Genoa to be of a most slender diet, and no clenlines. The Mantuans to feede on base pease. Those of Ferrara to be inhospital. Those of Paduoa to sup with an half-penny worth of fish. The Venetians to spend little for meat. Those of Sienna to keepe an honorable diet, and to hold Kids flesh, and fresh Cheeses for great dainties. Those of Milan to have a plentiful diet, and to invite appetite with sharpe things. The Novocomians to eat without end, and drinke stoutly. Those of Piemont to eate after the French manner, and those of Ancona to live most basely for their diet. The women of Lucca are accounted honest, and skilfull in Cookery. Those of Sienna faire and well affected to Poets. The Florentines delicate, and good at the needle, and matters of the Family. The Pistoians deceivers. The Perusians delicately handed, and delighting much in fishing. The Novocomians to blesse their husbands with the Rams horne. The Romans to seeme religious. The Cayetans to be painted & lustful. The Capuans proud, & excellent in nothing. The Neapolitans delighted in flocks of maid servants & lovers. The Beneventants to be of rude beauty. The Picenes desirous to be observed by their husbands. The Bononians to be somewhat browne coloured with a body full of juyce, and loving sighes and teares of their sutors. The Ferrarians robbers of those they love. Those of Urbino seeming of a rude nature, but none being more gentle. Those of Parma covetous and hard. Those of Piemont ever begging. Those of Genoa lecherous, talkative, faire, bountifull to their Lovers, and alwaies adorned with sweete flowers. Those of Sienna (*lisciate fin' alla fossa*), painted to the very grave. The Venetians of a variable disposition, very jealous, and some of them giving the use of their bodies freely without reward (but I should thinke there be few such, for they pleasantly scoff at our English women, that they give the fruit of love to their lovers for charity (*vulgarly per amor' di Dio*, as they give almes to beggers)

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and affecting to have yellow haire, white skins, and cherry cheekes, all by art, and to have short legs. And of the Venetian most famous Curtizans, it is proverbially said, Son grasse di stracci, bianche di calcina, rosse di belito alte di zoccole: They are fat with cloutes, white with chalke, red with painting, and high with shooes. In generall it is said of the Italian weomen: Sono gazze a le porte, Sante in Chiesa, capre n'i giardini, Diavoli in casa, Angeli in strada, Sirene alla fenestra. They are Magpyes at the doore, Saints in the Church, Goates in the garden, Divels in the house, Angels in the streete, and Syrens at the window. Of Rome this verse is proverbiall.

*Particularly
of the Italian
Cities.*

La corte Romana non vuol' pecora senza lana,
Curia Romana non quærit ovem sine lana:

The Court of Rome cannot abide,
To have a sheepe with a shorne hide.

The old Romans by these letters, S.P.Q.R. did signifie Senatum Populum Que Romanum, the Senate and people of Rome, and they being graven upon the gates of the City, one did pleasantly thus interpret them: Stultus Populus Quærit Romam: That is; Foolish people seeke Rome. These verses also are proverbiall.

Roma vale, vidi, satis est vidisse, revertar,
Cum Leno, Mæcus scurra, Cynedus ero,

Rome farewell, I have thee seene, well for me,
And then I will returne againe to thee.

When Lecher, Jester, Ingle, Bawde ile be.

Of Genoa it is said: Mar' senza pesci, montagne senza legni, huomini senza fede, Donne senza vergogna, Mori-bianchi, Genoa superba. That is: The sea without fish, Mountaines without wood, Men without faith, Weomen without shame, white Mores, Genoa the proud. Sienna is said to abound with Fountaines, Towers, and faire women: And they say in the vulgar tongue; Sienna di sei cose piena: Di Torre e di campane, di scolari e di putane, di becchi e di Ruffiani. Sienna is full of sixe

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things, Towers and Bels, Schollers and Whores, Cuckolds and Bawdes. They of Sienna have a Proverb: That a stranger once drinking of the Fountaine Brando, must needs stay there (as surprized with the love of the City). But the Florentines in their reproch say;

Chi beve di Fonte Brando, diventa malto.

Who of the Fountaine Brando drinkes, becomes
a Foole.

The Florentines are said stoutly to revenge the breach of Faith, and to be mindfull of benefits, to have Armes of Iron (for their industry), and the bodies of Antes, (for their spare diet). It is vulgarly said of them: Chi disse Fiorentino, non disse burla, che di tre cose ti fanno dovitia. A Dio, A Revederci, vuoitù nulla? He that spake of the Florentine; said well, that they give plenty of three things: God keepe you, Health till we meet againe; Will you any thing with me? It is vulgarly said: I Bergomaschi hanno il parlar' grosso, & il far' sottile: Those of Bergamo are grosse in speech, but subtill in action. Againe, Il bianco & il nero (cioe pepe & cotone) hanno fatto venetia ricca. Blacke and white, (that is, Pepper and Bumbast), have made Venice rich. Againe, Il Podesta di Senigallia, comanda, e poi fa. The Mayor of Senigallia, commands, and then doth it himselfe. In reproch of Modena it is vulgarly said: Menar l' Orsia Modena. To leade Beares at Modena. Againe, Da la Marca Asinie Pedanti famosi. The Marchians have famous Asses and Schoolemasters: And they say vulgarly that a great lie is, Bugia Marchiana, that is, a Marchian lie. As I hastily passed the vast Empire of

Of Turkey.

the Turks, and being ignorant of the vulgar languages, I never heard any such Proverbe, neither think that the unlearned Turks trouble their braines with these Laconicall sentences. Onely among the Italians I heard this Proverbe in their tongue. In Cipro tre cose a buon' Mercato si danno, il Sale, il Zuccaro, e le putane. In Cyprus three things are good cheape, Salt, Sugar, and

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Of France.

Whores. In France they say proverbially: *Qui feit Picard, il feit la hart* (dit le Norman): *Pour pendre le Norman' Couard* (dit le Picard) who made a Picard, made a rope (saith the Norman): To hang the coward Norman (saith the Picard.)

Againe, *Qui feit Francois, il feit curtois: Qui feit Breton' il feit larron.* He that made a Frenchman, made a courteous man; He that made a Britan, made a theefe. [III. i. 53.]

The French in reproch to the Normans, salute them with this counterfet or made word; *Fla-va-gou-la-men*, as if they should call him, *Flateur*, *vanteur*, *goula*, *larron*, *Menteur*, that is, flatterer, bragger, glutton, theefe, lyer.

They vulgarly say, *Gascon' teste verte: Gascon green head*, as rash in anger: *Bourguignon' Sale: The salted Burgundian*, which reproch grew, of a strange cruelty used by the Citizens of *Aiguesmortes*, against a garrison of Burgundians, who in the Raigne of Charles the seventh, and in the yeere 1422, by a sudden conspiracy cast out and killed the Burgundians lying there in garrison, and salted their dead bodies in a vessell of stone, which they shew to this day.

They name three jurisdictions or commonalties, which it seems of old had foolish and great priviledges; *La Basoche de Paris: Les Cornards di Rouen: La Mere Folie de Dijon.*

Of the Cities they say; *Paris la grande* (the Great) *Rouen la riche* (the Rich) *Orleans la belle* (the Faire) *Dijon la Folle* (the Foolish). *Angers, basse ville, hauts clochers, riches putaines, pouvres Escoliers: Low City, high Steeples, rich Whores, poore Schollars.*

They say vulgarly, *Les Badauts*, (the Fooles, or as we say Cocknies) *di Paris: Les Cornards* (the foresaid society of horned), *Di Rouen. Les Guespins*, (the word hath some reference to *Vespæ*, a Latin word, signifying those that carry dead bodies to be buried by night, but the French can hardly give a true signification of it), *d'Orleans. Les Copieux*, (the copious, for their art in jeasting), *de Flesche. Les faux tesmoings* (the false

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witnesses), quatorze pour un' fromage (foureteene for a Cheese), du Manz: Nau, (the novices or simple men), de Solongne, qui s'abusent toussiours a leur profit, (which are abused alwaies to their owne profit, as if under colour of simplicity, they were most crafty).

Of three Cities of Champaigne: Les Graniers, (the Garners as full of Corne), de Challens. Les Caves, (the Cellars as full of wine), de Reims. Les Bourses, (the Purses as full of money), de Troyes.

They say vulgarly, Il y a plus de Monmartre a Paris, que de Paris a Monmartre. This speech Il y a is ambiguous or of divers significations: vulgarly it should be thus understood. It is further from Monmartre to Paris, then from Paris to Monmartre: but in this place it is thus meant. There is more of Monmartre within Paris, then of Paris upon Monmartre; because almost all the Houses of Paris are plastered over, and the matter of this plaster is daily brought into Paris from Monmartre.

Also A Monmartre Il y a plus de Putains, que de vaches: Mais ostes en les Nonnains, Il y' aura plus de vaches que de Putains. At Monmartre there be more Whores then Cowes: But take away the Nunnes, and there will be more Cowes then Whores. Also, Fromages (Cheeses) d'Auvergne. Angelots (a kinde of Cheese) de Brie. Andouilles (Intrals or Trypes) de Troye. Saveisses (Sawsages) du Pont l'Evesque. Chapons (Capons) du Mans. Moutarde (Mustard) de Dijon, Pruneaux (Prunes) de Tours. Marrons (great Chesnuts) de Lyon. Pain d'espice (Spiced Bread) de Reims. Raves (rape rootes) de Limosin. Pesches (Peaches) de Carheil. Pain (Bread) de Genesse.

The Italians say, that the manner of the French, is; Di non dire quando vogliono fare, di non legger' come Scrivono, e di non cantare come notano. Not to speake that they will doe, not to reade as they write, not to sing as they pricke.

England. England in generall is said to be the Hell of Horses, the Purgatory of Servants, and the Paradice of Weomen.

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The Londiners pronounce woe to him, that buyes a Horse in Smyth-field, that takes a Servant in Pauls Church, that marries a Wife out of Westminster. Londiners, and all within the sound of Bow-Bell, are in reproch called Cocknies, and eaters of buttered tostes. The Kentish men of old were said to have tayles, because trafficking in the Low-Countries, they never paid full payments of what they did owe, but still left some part unpaid. Essex men are called calves, (because they abound there), Lankashire egge-pies, and to be wonne by an Apple with a red side. Norfolke wyles (for crafty litigiousnes): Essex stiles, (so many as make walking tedious), Kentish miles (of the length.)

Note.

Northumberland men (exercised in roades upon the Scots) are accounted best light Horsemen. Cornish men best Horse-riders and Wrastlers, and most active men. Lincolneshire Belles and Bag-pipes, Devonshire White-pots, Tewksbery Mustard, Banberry Cakes, Kings-Norten Cheese, Sheffield knives, Darby Ale, are proverbially spoken of. [III. i. 54.]

I hastily passed through part of Scotland bordering upon England, and had no skill in the Irish tongue, so as I observed no such Proverbs in those Kingdomes. *Poland and Ireland.*

[The Second Booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Of the fit meanes to travell, and to hire Coaches and Horses.

*Germany and
Sweitzerland
and
Boemerland.*



Hereof I must intreate briefly, and howsoever the subject be large, yet I will compendiously restraints this my discourse, praying him that desireth more plaine instruction in any particular, to reade the following discourse in this third Part of these Nations diet in generall, and expences in their Innes, as also to gather particular observations for his use out of my daily journies, related in the first Part.

The greatest part of Germany is a plaine Countrey, with few Hilles, and almost no Mountaines, but it is full of vast Woods, and the soile is either sandy, or for the most part drie, and little subject to durt, so as they use commonly Coaches for their journies, which are easily to be found in any City, neither shall a passenger long stay for companions to fill up the Coach, so as by this constant manner of travelling, hee shall not be put to any extraordinary charge. From Hamburg to Nurnberg, being nine daies journey, I remember that sixe of us in company, hired a coach for fifty dollers. That five of us for two dayes journies paid five dollers. That foure of us for three daies journey payed seven dollers for our Coach. But in our journey from Hamburg to Nurnberg

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we paid for our Coachmans diet, himselfe paying for his horses meate, whereas in the other journies he paid also for his owne diet. The ordinary Coaches hold sixe consorts, but those of Nurnberg receive eight, bearing two in each boote on the sides. But if companions bee not readily found to fill the Coach, the passengers shall doe better in going forward with such company as they have, and the Coachmen will rather goe for lesse, then stay in the Inne, and spend more in expecting the full number. The top of the Coaches is made with round hoopoes (covered with lether, or for the most part with black cloath) which are buckled together in the midst when it raines, or the weather is cold, for otherwise the hoopoes fastned with staples of Iron to the body of the coach, fall backward to the ends, so as the passengers may sit in the open aire. In lower Germany a passenger commonly payes about foure Lubeck shillings for each meale. In middle Germany he shall pay about foure Batzen. And in higher Germany he shall pay about sixe or seven batzen each meale, and all passengers sit at one common table. At the foote of the Alpes, where the fall of waters make the waies durty, they use to ride on horsebacke. Sweitzerland consists of hilles and Moun- taines, so as they likewise travell on horsebacke. And there the passenger shall commonly pay some five or sixe batzen each meale.

The horses in both places are to bee hired for sixe or seven batzen by the day, but the travellers expence is doubled, by paying as much for the dayes in which the Horse returnes empty: Besides, that hee must hire a [III. ii. 55.] Foote-man to bring backe his Horse, and must also beare his charges by the way, which greatly increaseth his expence in these Countries yeelding wine, the Foote-men being as good or better drinkers then the Horse-men. In upper Germany a Horse-man shall pay daily about thirty Creitzers for Oates, and about sixe for Hey. In lower Germany about sixe Lubecke shillings for Oates, and almost the foresaid value for Hey.

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This I write more particularly, because he that travels for Italy, cannot take a more frugall course, then to buy a Horse in Germany, which he may sell for gaine in Italy, especially if hee sell him by the way, being within few daies of his journeys end, whence he may passe by hired Coach or Horse to Padoua: For if he bring his Horse thither, those that are to buy him, are such crafty knaves, and will so conspire together against him, as he shall be forced to sell his Horse under hand, being made weary with the great charge of his meate: but this frugalty hath some difficulties, if the passenger have no skill in the tongue, (in which case hee must hire an Interpreter), and if he have not Horse-men to accompany him, because they passe all by Coaches, yet if this Horseman will follow the Coach, hee may with a small gift induce the Coach-man, to teach him the meanes to provide for his Horse: but this difficulty is taken away when he once comes as high as Nurnberg, to which place it is more easie, though deerer, to passe by Coach.

It is a matter of small moment, yet not unfit to bee observed, that the churlish Coach-men of Germany, have this custome, that the Coaches comming downe from the upper parts, give the way to those that come up.

The Alpes.

All Men speake strange things of the Alpes, and such as will hardly be beleevd by those, that have not seene them. The way from Vienna to Padoua is plaine, yet lying betweene high Mountaines, and fetching many compasses, so as it is fit for Horse-men, but I passed that way in the company of a Coach, which went slowly in the stony wayes, and was hardly by force of mens shoulders kept from falling. The way from Augsburg to Padoua is like this, and of both these journeys I have spoken at large in the first Part. My selfe weary of expecting companions, and violently carried with the desire to returne into my Countrey, did all alone, without any one in my company, (which I thinke few or none ever did), passe over the Alpes, from Bergamo to Chur, save that sometimes I hired a Foote-man to runne by

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my Horse, and to guide mee for a mile or two. In this journey through the Grisones Countrey, I sometimes (not without horror) ascended very steepe passages of Mountaines, lying with my face on my Horses necke, whose bridle I left free to him, holding my selfe with one hand on his maine, and the other on the saddle. Woe to me, if any Mares had then passed that way, at the sight whereof my Horse used to be so furious, as many times at straight passages, and steepe fals of the Mountaines into low vallies, I was forced to light from him, and on foote to holde his bridle; and yet sometimes hee was so fierce, as he plunged out of the way up to the saddle skirts in snow, so as I could hardly recover him. The passages over the Alpes towards Geneva and Savoy, especially the Mountaines called Furca and Gothardo, are most dangerous of all others. The fittest times to passe the Alpes, are the Winter moneths, when no snow is newly fallen, and the old snow is hard congealed, or else the moneths of June, July, and August, when the snow neere the high wayes is altogether melted: For the middle moneths are very unfit, either by falling of new snow, or by melting of the old, neither can any man passe, before the Officers appointed to have care of the way, have opened the same. My selfe passing over the more easie Alpes, in the moneth of June, did often heare Mountaines of melted snow fall into the neere Vallies, with as violent rushing, as if whole Cities had fallen by an Earth-quake. Over the Alpes towards Geneva and Savoy, passengers are sometimes carried upon sledges, sometimes with gloves and shooes full of nailes, they creepe over them on hands and feete, and in both these kindes, their Guides ever warne them, to turne their eyes from beholding the steepe fals of the Mountaines into most deepe Vallies. For sometimes it happens, that in a turning or winding way, the sledge whereon the passenger sits, is cast out of the way, and hangs downe into a most deepe valley, with the passengers head downwards and his heeles upward. Woe be to him then, if

*What times
are most
convenient
to passe the
Alpes.*

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hee let his hold goe, or the harnesse tying the sledge to the Horse should breake: yea, very Mules and Asses, going most slowly, and so most firmly, yet sometimes fall into deepe valleys, and so perish in the snow. My selfe in my journey from Padoua to Augsburg, being a lesse difficult passage, did see an Horse boggling at a casuall noise, tumble halfe a mile into a valley, with his heavy loade upon his backe, yet have no harme, the snow being so congealed as it bore him up, so as his Master by a large circuite brought him safe againe up to the rest of his Horses, on the Mountaines top.

Bohemia. Bohemia is all plaine, but often rising into low and fruitfull hils, so as there (as in Germany) they journey most in Coaches. A passenger in this Kingdome shall pay some five Bohemian Grosh, or upon the Confines towards Nurnberg, some eightene or twenty creitzers, for each meales meate: yet at Prage in most Innes, the Bohemians themselves use to diet by the meale, but upon account, the Hosts having little or nothing for diet in the House to sell, but buying most things without dores for the Guests.

*Low-
Countries.*

In the Low-Countries Travellers passe most in long narrow Country Waggon, the sides thereof being like Rackes for Horses, and acrosse over them short and somewhat narrow boards, being fastened for Passengers to sit upon, two in a ranke, so as they hold some eight or tenne passengers; And they have goodly Mares to draw these Waggon, using their Horses for the troops in their Army, or exporting them (as sometimes their Mares also) to sell in forraigne parts. I did never see the meanes of passage so ready in any place, as these Waggon here at all times are, before the doore of the Waggoners Inne, nor consorts so readily found to all places, whereof the numbers are infinite passing both by Waggon and Boate: Neither did I ever see Travellers passe at so easie rates, (I meane for their passages, not for the Innes), so they have not heavy luggage: For in that case, the Waggon being left and taken at the gates of the Citie, (as I thinke

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not to weare the bricke pavements with their wheelles), and the waggons being often changed in each dayes journey, this carriage to his Inne and from it so often, must needes be a great burthen to his shoulders, or charge to his purse: The Waggoners being commonly drunken, drive their Mares like mad men, yet without danger of turning over their Waggons, because the wayes are most plaine, faire, and sandy. From Delph to Hage, being two houres journey, with consorts I paid two stivers for my Waggon, and alone I paid seven. The way lies betweene ditches, and is plaine and safe, the Countrey people continually repairing it: For otherwise the wayes in this low watry soyle, could not be so drie and sandy as they are. And because they cast up sand upon the passengers, some curious men use spectacles of glasse to preserve their eyes.

On all sides from City to City, they have ditches cut, upon which boates passe almost every howe to and fro, and give passage at a low rate, and the wind being faire, they beare sayles, otherwise they are drawne by Horses or by Marriners, with a rope fastened upon a pole, set up in the hinder part of the boate, and the Marriners being commonly drunke, through their too much hast and negligence, it often happens, that the ropes wherewith the boates are drawne, catch hold on some posts and stakes by the way, or chance to be intangled with the horses or roapes of other boates, meeting them, and so overturne them in the water, with no small danger to the passengers. The rates of passages by boate are divers, but ever small. My selfe have passed three miles for foure stivers, seven miles for sixe stivers, and foure-teene miles (as from Amsterdam to Harlingen) for eight stivers. The Marriners use not to deceive strangers in the rates, neither can they easily doe it, they being vulgarly knowne to every child. Every day and at a set howe, the Boates must goe away with those passengers they have, and may not stay for more, and if at any time some few passengers, or any one alone, will pay the whole

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fraight of the Boate, then they must without any delay transport those passengers or that one man. This I will illustrate with one example. A Barke must everie day at a set hower set sayles from Harlingen a Citie in Freesland to Amsterdam a Citie in Holland (and like are the customes of other Cities for mutuall trafficke), neither may the covetous Marriners stay one minute after the hower, and after it is never so little loosed from the strand, it may not come backe to the shoare, though never so many passengers should come suddenly, and desire to bee received into it, but these new passengers must hire another barke, the price whereof is vulgarly knowne, and that being offered by them or any one passenger, the Marriners may not refuse to goe presently away. Sometimes it happens, that one Barke receives so many passengers, as the owner gets tenne Flemmish guldens for one fraight; for if great number of passengers comes before the appointed hower, that turnes to the Marriners profit. But if one man alone, or few men, doe after the appointed hower, offer to give five guldens for the said passage, they may not refuse presently to transport him or them. The like custome is kept in other Cities for small boates and short passages, namely, that tenne consorts (which are most readilie found) shall pay each man three stivers for his passage; and if one or two being in haste will pay these thirty stivers, the boate without delay must carry him or them. I cannot denie, but these rates of hiring barkes or boates are subject to change. For in the passage from Harlingen to Amsterdam my selfe paid eight stivers for my transporting, which of old was but five stivers a man. As likewise for small boats we then paid three stivers for a passage, which of old was but one black. But in the meane time these increases are not raised by the Marriners covetousnesse after their pleasure, but by the publike authority of the Magistrate in lawfull and decent manner.

In the publike Innes a passenger paies some ten or fourteene stivers each meale: but if he drinke wine,

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that will cost as much more, by reason of the great impositions upon the Wines. Besides that, the Flemmings his consorts drinking beare stiffely, especially if they light upon English beare, and drinke being put into the common reckoning of the company, a stranger shall pay for their intemperancy.

The Danes have such and the same waggons, as the *Denmark.* Flemmings, which a man alone or few or more consorts may hire some foure miles (being a short dayes journey), for 20 or 24 Lubeck shillings, or about that rate. Travellers use not to passe on horsebacke. The Coachmen pay for their owne diet and their horses meate. My selfe commonly paid each meale for my diet sixe Lubeck shillings, reckoning three for beare apart, and in some places joyntly for both foure Lubeck (that is eight Danish) shillings. Lastly, I was carried in a boate foure miles by the Sea-coast for eight Lubeck shillings.

Poland for the most part (or almost all) is a plaine *Poland.* Countrie, fit for the passing of coches, which may be hired in Cities, and are like to those of Germany. From Dantzke to Crakaw (being ten daies journey) a coach may be hired for some 44 German guldens. My selfe paid there for my part six guldens, leaving the Coach after foure daies journey, because the horses were tired. And for my diet two of those dayes upon our guides reckoning, my part came to two guldens, but I am sure he deceived us. In one Citie by the way, five of us paid 2 dollers for one supper, but my selfe after passing alone, commonly dined in villages for 2 or 3 grosh, and supped for 4 or 6 grosh. They use to carry a bed in the Coach, and to sit upon it in the day time, for otherwise no beds are to be found, but onely in great Cities, which are very rare. And they who will have wine, must also carry it with them, for it is not to be had but onlie in great Cities. Our Horses (as I said) being tired, we left our Coach, and by the Kings letter or warrant granted to one of our company, we tooke up horses, and that for small prices, namely, one or two Grosh for a Polish or

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Dutch mile: But the Polonians for the most part ride on horsebacke, and the most convenient and frugall course for passengers, is to buy horses and sell them in Italy after their journey, neither shall they want horsemen to beare them company from City to City: but he that is a horse-man, cannot carrie his bed, & so must have patience to rest upon a bench, til he shall find beds upon the confines of Germany. In the meane time his long horsmans coat (which the Polonians & Hungarians generally use) may (with straw) make his lodging more convenient, especially if it be lined with Woolves skinnies, or like furies, for the Winter time. Neither shall he neede to feare any cold, since the Polonians use hot stoves (as the Germans have), and do also lodge all the family therein at night upon straw and benches. Horsemeate will cost some two or three grosh at noone, and some foure or five grosh at night.

Italy.

In Italy they use few or no Coaches, but onely in the State of Venice, where, from Treviso to Padoua, being twelve miles, my selfe and my companions hired a Coach for eighteene Venetian lyers. For other parts of Italy, Travellers for journeys use horses or mares in Lumbardy, and otherwhere upon hilly Countries, and in the Plaine towards Naples, they use Mules and Asses much more commonly, then Horses, and the same beasts in like sort are used for all carriages. Post-horses are to be hired in every City, and for one they commonly pay a silver crowne, that is seven Venetian lyres, for ten miles. But I do not remember to have seene any use Post-horses as we do for galloping, the Italians using to ride a slow pace. And if any passenger thinke this rate deare, he may take a more frugall course, by enquiring after Post-horses of returne, so called, because they must returne home empty, if they find no passengers by chance to use them: for these horses may bee had at a lower rate, and if the passenger find them not readily at every stage, it will not be unpleasant for him to walke on foote to the next stage, where or by the way he shall commonly find

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such horses, so as the want of consorts, or heavy baggage, make not his walking on foote unpleasant; for otherwise the fields and waies are most pleasant, and the Cities, Townes, or dwellings most frequent. But if he ride upon a post-horse of returne, he must take heede that he light from his horse at the Towne-gate; for if he ride to the Inne, the Post-master will force him to take a new Post-horse, or else to goe away on foote, whereas if he come to the Inne either on foote, or upon an hackney, it is free for the horse-letters to furnish him and his company with hackney horses. These horse-letters are called Vetturini, and let their horses at a lower rate, especially if the passenger have two or three consorts, and they will send a servant on foot to feede the horses by the way, and to bring them backe, except their journey be short, as of one or two dayes, in which case they will let a horse to a passenger being alone, with caution that hee shall meate him by the way, and at the journeyes end leave him at the Inne which they appoint, without further care of his meate or returne. Yea, if the passenger would ride his horse beyond that Inne, the Hoste or his servants, knowing the horse, will stay him, and take the horse into their keeping. Also ordinary Carriers from Citie to Citie use to let horses, and leade passengers with them. My selfe hired a horse of returne from Bologna to Rimini, being thirty five miles, for tenne poali; from Sienna to Lucca, being fortie five miles, a Vetturines horse, for foureteene poali or giulii; from Lucca to Pisa, being tenne miles, for two giulii; from Pisa to Lirigi, being fortie one miles, for a piastro, or silver crowne; and from Milan to Cremona, being fifty two miles, a carriers horse, for five lyres besides horse-meate. Hee that hath his owne horse, or a Vetturines horse left to his keeping (as I said for a short journey), shall pay for horse-meate after these rates. At Lucca in the State of Florence, hee shall pay each night some twelve creitzers for oates, & eight creitzers for the stable (that is hay, straw and stable roome) and at Vicenza and in the State of

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Venice, some eighteene soldi for oates, and twentie soldi for the stable. The Italians ride upon most hard saddles, having commonly a lether cushian of their owne to fasten upon the pummell of the saddle. Touching the charge of diet by the way, a passenger in the State of Venice shall have his supper and bed for forty soldi, and in the upper parts of Italy for three giulii, and he may dine conveniently for one giulio upon reckoning, or at most for a giulio and a halfe: but if hee will eate at the ordinary, he shall pay three. Many agree with the Vetturine, not onely for horses and horsemeate, but also for their owne diet: but for my part, I would rather live at my owne charge and discretion, then at theirs, excepting the journey from Rome to Naples, in which, for the great hast, especially at dinner times, & for the familiarity which the Vetturines have with the Hosts, all men use to agree with them, aswel for diet as for horses and horsemeate, which if they should not doe, they should spend more, & hardly be used so wel. In Italy the passenger must be content with a hard flock bed; for by reason of the heate of the Country, they use no feather beds: He shall have cleane sheetes, at least if he be curious to demand them: but because the beds are suspected for filthinesse of the Venerian disease, passengers use to weare linnen breeches of their owne. It is good to lodge in the best Innes, especially in Italy, for in them hee shall be best used, and shall be most safe from dangers. For other particulars let the passenger reade the more full handling of them, in my daily journies through Italy, in the first Part, and the following Chapter of the Italian diet in this third Part.

Turkey. In the Turkish Empire they travell not, as we doe, sometimes one man alone, sometimes two, three, or more consorts, at pleasure; but as theeves there goe in troopes to spoile, so Merchants for their security, joyne together till they have some two or three hundred Cammels, loaded with goods, and a convenient number of men to attend them. And this Company is called vulgarly a Carravan,

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to which passengers joyne themselves, for their better safety. This Company, to avoide the heate of the Sunne, useth to beginne their journey in the evening, and to continue the same till two howers after Sunne-rise, resting all the day in Tents: And every man carries his owne meate, or provides it by the way. Malem signifies one, that leades Merchants goods; and Muccaro signifies him that lookes to the beasts, and to the loading of them, and these Men let Cammels, Horses, and Mules, to passengers, for the whole journey, at reasonable rates, and doe waite upon the passengers to feede the beasts, and to loade them, as also to buy and dresse meate for the Men. My selfe and my Brother Henry, in our journey from Tripoli in Syria to Haleppo, paid nine Pyastri for two Asses to ride upon, and for their meate and for some tributes (vulgarly Cafars) of twenty Meidines or thereabouts, due by the way. And in our journey from Haleppo to Constantinople, wee paid to our Muccaro bearing the charge of the beasts meate, seventy and one Pyastri, for a Horse and a Mule to ride upon, and for a Cammell to carry our provisions, of Bisket, Wine, Damaske Prunes, and some such comfortable things: For wee pitched our Tents neere Villages or Cities, from whence wee bought Egges, Hennes, and Ryce, as wee needed them, and sometimes had opportunity to supply that which wee had consumed, of those provisions which wee carried with us. One Cammell will beare a passenger, and good store of necessary provisions with him, but the pace thereof is very harde, and shaketh the body of the Ryder, the hinder parts of the Cammell being higher then the fore parts. The Horses either goe a foote pace, or gallop, but are not taught the paces of ambling or trotting: yet in regard that in these journies the passenger goes slowly, following loaded Cammels, their Horses are easie enough to ride upon. The Mules naturally have easie and slow paces, and are most commodious, especially for sicke men. Besides these Caravans, a passenger may light upon other commodities of taking his journey,

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namely, when Bashaes or Turkish Governours are recalled from their Governements, and returne with their families to Constantinople. For these Magistrates are often changed in Turkey, and so these commodities of passage are frequent. Onely the passenger must bee commended to the protection of this Basha or Governour, which upon a small present or gift hee will easily undertake, and sweare by his head, touching it (as their manner is to sweare), that hee will bring him safely to his journeyes ende. And the passenger who together with this caution, hath a Janizare to protect and guide him, shall neede to feare no danger, so as hee receive this Janizare from an Ambassadors, Consull, or Christian Merchant, who will aske account of the passengers safetie from the Janizare at his returne.

[III. ii. 60.] They have a third commodious way for journeyes, in the company of a Troope of Horse, (vulgarly called Cas-senda), which often carries the Turkes Treasure up to Constantinople. And not onely the chiefe of this Troope, upon a small gift, will protect any passenger, but also this course of all others is most commodious for journeyes, because they ride a good pace, being not troubled with loaded Camels, and so come speedily unto their journeyes end.

France.

The French seldome use Coaches for journeyes, but at Paris he that will hire a Coach about the City, shall pay seven or eight ryals by the day. Likewise at Paris, very Notaries and ordinary men, hire horses and foot cloathes to ride about the Citie, and they pay ten soulz for the horse, and five for the foot-cloath by the day. But for journeyes, the French have three sorts of horses; The first is of post-horses, let for a stage of some three miles, shorter or longer, for which a French man shall pay fifteene, perhaps a stranger twenty soulz, and as much for a guide, besides some five soulz of free gift. The second sort are called Chevaux de relais, that is, horses to be left at a place. And for the hiring of these for a like distance of miles, a passenger payes some tenn

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soulz, and hee needes no guide to bring backe the horse, because he is to leave him in a place appointed at the end of the stage. But hee may not ride these a false gallop, as they use to ride post-horses; for if he that receives the horse, can find either by the note delivered him, or by the swetting of the horse, that hee hath ridden an extraordinary pace, hee shall pay ten soulz, the ordinarie penaltie for that wrong. The third sort are called Chevaux de louage, that is, hired horses, and these a passenger may hire to what place hee will for some fifteene or twentie soulz by the day, for so many dayes till the horse may bee sent backe, and at the journies end hee delivers the horse with a note to some friend of the owner, and by the way hee payes for his meate, some five soulz at noone, and ten at night. I will adde one example of my owne experience. From Roane to Diepe are twelve or fourteene miles, to bee ridden in some foure howers, but the horses being weake, passengers use to bate at a Village called Totes in the halfe way; and howsoever before the civill warre, a horse of hire for this short journey was let for ten soulz, yet at the time when I passed that way, they demaunded and tooke thirtie soulz, reckoning three dayes for the journey, and the sending backe of the horse. Hee that hired this horse from Roane to Diepe, and backe againe to Roane, paid no more, so he returned within three dayes. But if his occasions were to make any stay at Diepe, or to sayle from thence to England, or to journey from thence to any other place, then he paid the foresaid thirty soulz, and left the horse with an host, still paying for his meate some eight or ten soulz by the day, till he could be sent backe. Yet passengers are so frequent there, as the host doth not onely soone free the passenger of this charge for the horses meate, but easily gaineth himselfe some ten or more soulz from him, that undertakes to carry the horse backe to Roane. In generall, the Traveller must be content with hard saddles, and sometimes with a rope for a bridle, who hath

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them not of his owne. The French in their Innes use to eate at an ordinarie table together for the most part. In Totes the foresaid Village of Normandy before the great civill war, assoone as a Traveller lighted from his horse, they brought him water to wash, and presently set bread and wine before him (for without some refection, the French have not patience to stay for supper.) Then at supper commonly they gave mutton, a capon or pullet and a partridge, or like meates, with some banqueting dishes (as apples, cherries, grapes in Summer, and chesnuts, rice, dried grapes and fruits in winter.) Then they brought cleane sheets to be aired before the passenger at the fier. Lastly, in the morning they gave him his breakfast (as buttered tosts, or some morsell of flesh), and for all this and his horsemeat, he was wont to pay no more then some 12 soulz. As likewise for his dinner and horsemeat some 10 soulz. But after the civil war, when I passed these parts, sometimes I paid 12, sometimes 15 soulz for each meale, and for my horse-meate at noone five soulz, at night tenne soulz; but an horse-man paid nothing for his bed. And if any desired to breake his fast, hee paid for it apart, but a small matter. Neither at this time was there any ordinarie Table (which they call Table de l'hoste, the Hosts table), for since Frenchmen use not to leave it where any such is, I should otherwise have seene it, besides, that they pay not apart for breakfasts, where Ordinary Tables are held, as wee did in these Innes.

[III. ii. 61.] The horseman hath his bed freely, the footman paies some three soulz a night. In some places, as upon the confines of France towards Flanders, the Hosts onely give Linnen, bread and wine, and when the guests will eate, Cookes bring in trayes of divers meats ready for dressing, and when the guests have chosen their meate, and agreed for the price, they carry it backe, and after it is prepared, bring it in warme with sauces. If the passenger have a horse of his owne (which he may buy here to sell with good gaine in Italy) he shall pay for

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his meate (as I said) five soulz at noone, and some ten soulz at night. The French have also long Waggon covered with cloath (such as our English Carriers use), wherein women, and such as can indure the slownesse thereof, use to travell from Citie to Citie. My self after I had been robbed in Champaigne, passed in such a Waggon from Challons to Paris, and paid two gold Crownes of the Sunne for my passage. Alwaies it is to bee understood, that in most Kingdomes and places a stranger shall pay somewhat more, then one that is borne in the Country.

In England towards the South, and in the West parts, *England.* and from London to Barwick, upon the confines of Scotland, Post-horses are established at every ten miles or thereabouts, which they ride a false gallop after some ten miles an hower sometimes, and that makes their hire the greater: for with a Commission from the chiefe Post-master, or chiefe Lords of the Councell (given either upon publike businesse, or at least pretence thereof) a passenger shal pay two pence half-penny each mile for his horse, and as much for his guides horse: but one guide will serve the whole company, though many ride together, who may easily bring backe the horses driving them before him, who know the way aswell as a begger knowes his dish. They which have no such Commission, pay three pence for each mile. This extraordinary charge of horses hire, may well be recompenced with the speede of the journey, whereby greater expences in the Innes are avoided, all the difficultie is, to have a body able to endure the toyle. For these horses the passenger is at no charge to give them meat, onely at the ten miles end the boy that carries them backe, will expect some few pence in gift. Some Nobleman hath the Office of chiefe Post-Master, being a place of such account, as commonly he is one of the Kings Counsell. And not onely hee, but other Lords of the Councell, according to the qualities of their offices, use to give the foresaid Commission, signed with their hands joyntly or severally: but their

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hands are lesse regarded then the Post-masters, except they be favourites, and of the highest Offices, or the businesse bee important. In the Innes men of inferiour condition use to eate at the Hosts Table, and pay som six pence a meale: but Gentlemen have their chambers, and eate alone, except perhaps they have consorts and friends in their company, and of their acquaintance. If they bee accompanied, perhaps their reckoning may commonly come to some two shillings a man, and one that eates alone in his owne chamber with one or two servants attending him, perhaps upon reckoning may spend some five or six shillings for supper and breakfast. But in the Northerne parts, when I passed towards Scotland, Gentlemen themselves did not use to keepe their chambers, but to eat at an ordinarie table together, where they had great plentie of good meate, and especially of choice kinds of fish, and each man paid no more then sixe pence, and sometimes but foure pence a meale. One horses meate will come to twelve pence, or eightene pence the night for Hay, Oates and Straw, and in Summer time commonly they put the horses to grasse, after the rate of three pence each horse, though some who ride long journies, will either keepe them in the Stable at hard meate as they doe in Winter, or else give them a little Oates in the morning when they are brought up from grasse. English passengers taking any journey, seldome dine, especially not in Winter, and withall ride long journies. But there is no place in the World where passengers may so freely command as in the English Inns, and are attended for themselves and their horses aswell as if they were at home, and perhaps better, each servant being ready at call, in hope of a small reward in the morning. Neither did I ever see Innes so well furnished with household stuffe. Coaches are not to be hired any where but only at London; and howsoever England is for the most part plaine, or consisting of little pleasant hilles, yet the waies farre from London are so durty, as
[III. ii. 62.] hired Coachmen doe not ordinarily take any long journies,

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but onely for one or two daies any way from London, the wayes so farre being sandy and very faire, and continually kept so by labour of hands. And for a dayes journey, a Coach with two horses used to be let for some ten shillings the day (or the way being short for some eight shillings, so as the passengers paid for the horses meat) or some fiftene shillings a day for three horses, the Coach-man paying for his horses meate. Sixtie or seventy yeeres agoe, Coaches were very rare in England, but at this day pride is so farre increased, as there be few Gentlemen of any account (I meane elder Brothers), who have not their Coaches, so as the streetes of London are almost stopped up with them. Yea, they who onely respect comlinesse and profit, and are thought free from pride, yet have Coaches, because they find the keeping thereof more commodious and profitable, then of horses, since two or three Coach-horses will draw foure or five persons, besides the commodity of carrying many necessaries in a Coach. For the most part Englishmen especially in long journies, use to ride upon their owne horses. But if any will hire a horse, at London they use to pay two shillings the first day, and twelve, or perhaps eightene pence a day, for as many dayes as they keepe him, till the horse be brought home to the owner, and the passenger must either bring him backe, or pay for the sending of him, and find him meate both going and comming. In other parts of England a man may hire a horse for twelve pence the day, finding him meate, and bringing or sending him backe; and if the journey bee long, he may hire him at a convenient rate for a moneth or two. Likewise Carriers let horses from Citie to Citie, with caution that the passenger must lodge in their Inne, that they may looke to the feeding of their horse, and so they will for some five or sixe dayes journey let him a horse, and find the horse meate themselves for some twenty shillings. Lastly, these Carryers have long covered Waggons, in which they carry passengers from City to City: but this kind of journeying is so tedious,

*Coaches were
very rare in
England.*

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by reason they must take waggon very carely, and come very late to their Innes, as none but women and people of inferiour condition, or strangers (as Flemmings with their wives and servants) use to travell in this sort.

Ireland.

In Ireland since the end of the Civill warre, some Lords and Knights have brought in Coaches to Dublin, but they are not generally used, neither are there any to bee hired, though the waies be most plaine and generally good for Coaches. They ride for the most part upon their owne horses, but they are also to bee hired for some twelve pence, or eighteene pence the day, finding the horses meate, which in the stable will cost some twelve pence each night, and at grasse little or nothing. In every City there be some knowne houses, where an ordinary is kept for diet, and beds may be had, and the Ordinary is commonly twelve pence each meale. By the way in poore Hamlets, at this time of peace, there bee English houses, where is good lodging and diet, and where no such are, passengers must goe to the houses of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Husbandmen English, and Irish-English, where they cannot want intertainement in some good measure, these inhabitants much loving hospitalitie, but all other houses are full of filth and barbarousnesse. But there are not any Innes in the very Cities, which hang out Bushes, or any Signes, only some Citizens are knowne, who will give stable and meate for horses, and keepe a table where passengers eate at an ordinarie, and some Citizens have cellers, wherein they draw wine, if not al the yeere, yet as long as their wine lasts: but they have no Taverns with Ivy bushes or signes hung out, save onely some few at Dublin.

Scotland.

In Scotland a horse may be hired for two shillings the first day, and eight pence the day untill he be brought home, and the horse letters use to send a footeman to bring backe the horse. They have no such Innes as bee in England, but in all places some houses are knowne, where passengers may have meate and lodging: but they have no bushes or signes hung out, and for the horses, they are

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commonly set up in Stables in some out-lane, not in the same house where the passenger lyes. And if any man bee acquainted with a Townes-man, hee will goe freely to his house, for most of them will entertaine a stranger for his money. A horseman shall pay for Oates and Straw (for hay is rare in those parts) some eight pence [III. ii. 63.] day and night, and he shall pay no lesse in Summer for grasse, wherof they have no great store. Himself at a common table shall pay about sixe pence for his supper or dinner, and shal have his bed free; and if he will eate alone in his chamber, he may have meate at a reasonable rate. Some twenty or thirty yeeres agoe the first use of Coaches came into Scotland, yet were they rare even at Edenborough. At this day since the Kingdomes of England and Scotland were united, many Scots by the Kings favour have been promoted both in dignitie and estate, and the use of Coaches became more frequent, yet nothing so common as in England. But the use of Horse-litters hath been very ancient in Scotland, as in England, for sickly men and women of qualitie.

Chap. II.

Of the Sepulchers, Monuments, and Buildings in generall; for I have spoken particularly of them in the first Part, writing of my daily journies.



Mong all the Sepulchers that I have seene *Sepulchers in generall.* in Europe, or in Turkey, that in Westminster erected to Henrie the seventh, King of England, of Copper mettall, adorned with vulgar precious stones, is the fairest, especially considering the stately Chappell built over it. The next to that in my opinion is the Sepulcher at Winsore, made of the same mettall curiously carved, at the charge of Cardinall Wolsye, had he not left it unperfected, so as none hath yet been buried under it. The next place I

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would give to the Sepulchers of the Turkish Ottomans, whereof the fairest is the monument with the Mosche (or Chappell) built over it, for Sultan Soloman at Constantinople. The other monuments of the Sultans are built more low, with a little round Mosche over them, all of the best Marble, the top being a round Globe of brasse or leade, and for the better shew, they are commonly set upon hilles. The insides are round, and lightsome with windowes, and in the very midst lyes the Sultan, with his sonnes round about him, which (according to their custome) are strangled by the command of their eldest brother, assoone as the father is dead, and his Sultana is laid by his side when she dies. These are all laid in chests of Cypresse, lifted up from the ground, with their Tulbents over their heads, which living they woare upon their heads, with some Jewels at the crowne. And these chests are compassed with a grate of iron, without which is a round Gallerie or walking place, spread with Tapestry, upon which the Zantones or Priests that keepe the Sepulcher, continually sit, as if the Sultans would not be left alone without attendance when they were dead. I speake not of the Turkes common Sepulchers, which have no beauty, being in common fieldes, with three stones erected, at the head, the breast, and the feete. Neither did I see any other stately monuments erected to the Turkish Visiers and Bashaes. In the next place is the monument of the Saxon Elector Mauritius, at Friburg in Germany (being of black Marble, three degrees high, with faire statuaes) and the monuments of English Noblemen in Westminster, and Saint Pauls Church at London (of greater magnificence and number, then I have seene any otherwhere.) In the next place are the Sepulchers of the French Kings at Saint Dennys, neere Paris, and of the Palatine at Heydelberg in Germany. I speake not of the Prince of Orange his Sepulcher at Delph in Holland, which is a poore monument, farre unfit for so worthy a Prince, who deserved so wel of the Low-Country men. But they have few or no stately monu-

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ments, nor almost any ordinary Sepulchers erected to the dead. Of the same degree with the French Kings Sepulchers, or rather to be preferred before the most of them, are the Sepulchers of Italy, but they are of another kind. Some of them at Rome, and that of the King of Aragon at Naples, and some few other, are stately and beautifull. The rest are erected little from the ground, and sometimes Pyramidall, but the Altars built over them, are adorned with rare pictures, Porphery, Marble, and Lydian stones, and upon these Altars they sing Masses and prayers the dead lying under them. [III. ii. 64.]

As I said that all the Turkes, excepting the Sultans or Emperours are buried in the open fields, so I have seene in Germany some fields without the Cities, compassed with faire square walles of stone, wherein Citizens were buried. Of these the fairest is at Leipzig, the walles whereof are built with arched Cloysters, under which the chiefe Cittizens are buried by families, the common sort onely lying in the open part of the field, and at one corner of the wall there is a Tarras, covered above, but open on the two sides towards the field, and paved on the ground, wherein stands a Pulpit. This place is called Gotts aker, that is, that Aker or field of God. The like burying place I have seene at Geneva, without the walles of the City. At Pisa in Italy they have a publike place of buriall like in fashion to these, but within the walles of the Citie, and the building compassing it, is very stately, and much to be preferred before that of Leipzig. This place is called Campo santo, that is the holy field, either of the use, or because the Emperour Frederick Barbarossa, returning from the holy Land, and taking that earth for ballast of his ships, did after lay the same in this place.

The Exchange, or publike place for the meeting of Merchants, and for the selling of smaller or richer wares at London, being built of Free-stone by Sir Thomas Gresham Knight and Merchant, is the most stately building in that kind that I have seene in Europe or Turkey.

*Publike
buildings for
Merchants to
meete.*

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For that of Antwerp, in imitation whereof this is said to have been built, was never seene by me, and I have heard many preferre this before that. Ancona in Italy hath such a place, much lesse, but very beautifull, and that of Hamburg in Germany is much to be commended. That of Constantinople called Besensteine, is markable rather for the pretious wares and jewels, then for the building, which is onely of Bricke, and therein also they sell captives for slaves.

Senate-houses. For publike houses built for the meeting of the Senate, there be many in Germany which are very stately, and among them that of Hamburg seemed to mee the fairest.

Publike places for recreation. The Germans, Low-countrimen and Sweitzers, have in each City publike houses, where the Citizens meete to walke, and for exercises, as shooting in the peece and Crossebow, and where they also drinke and feast together. Those of Sweitzerland are lesse sumptuous for building, but much more pleasant, having trees, within the boughes whereof they have roomes or arbours built upon the bodies of the trees, whereof divers containe three or foure Tables, besides that water is drawne up by pipes to the top of the tree, for washing of glasses, and like uses.

Stables. Among the Stables of Princes, that of the Duke of Saxony at Dresden in Germany, is the fairest of all other, and a rare building for that purpose.

Clocks. For Clocks, that of Strasburg in Germany is most artificiaall, and to bee wondred at, and is much to bee preferred before that of Lubeck, or any other in the World.

Theaters and water Conduits. In Italy there be many wonderfull ruines of old Theaters, water Conduits, and like monuments in many places: but these ruines belong not properly to this discourse, and there be few like built of late. Onely the water Counduit at Rome, newly built by Pope Sixtus Quintus, is a Kingly worke. And the Theater at Vicenza now standing, and in use for Comedies, is faire and stately. The Theaters at London in England for Stageplaies, are more remarkeable for the number, and for the capacity, then for the building.

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Bridges.

The Bridge at London is worthily to be numbred among the miracles of the world, if men respect the building and foundation, laid artificially and stately over an ebbing and flowing water, upon 21 piles of stone, with 20 arches, under which Barkes may passe, the lowest foundation being (as they say) packs of woll, most durable against the force of the water, and not to be repaired, but upon great fall of the waters, and by artificiall turning or stopping the recourse of them. Or if men respect the houses built upon the bridge, as great and high as those of the firme land, so as a man cannot know that he passeth a bridge, but would judge himselfe to be in the streete, save that the houses on both sides are combined in the top, making the passage somewhat darke, and that in some few open places the River of Thames may be seene on both sides. In the second rancke, is the bridge of our Lady at Paris in France. The next place belongs to the bridge of Venice, called Realto, consisting of one, but an high Arch, and built partly of marble, partly of freestone, and to be ascended by many staires on both sides, and having low shoppes upon the ascents and on the top, and for the building of the whole bridge, being more stately then that of Paris. In the fourth rancke is the bridge of Florence, over the river Arno; and for bare bridges, having no buildings upon them, the bridge of Dresden in Germany, and many other bridges in England, in my opinion might be preferred before that of Florence, had it not those houses built upon it: But the bridge of Rome, called Sant' Angelo, is not worth the naming, howsoever the Italians (after their bragging manner) have made the same appeare famous to men that never saw it; as likewise they have spread the fame of the Roman River Tyberis, which at Rome and running under this bridge, deserves rather to be accounted a little brooke, or a ditch, then a River. And as for the inundations thereof, they are rather to be attributed to the narrownesse of the bed, then the greatnesse of the River, onely increasing upon the fall of

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raine, or melted snow from the neighbour mountaines, and making no Haven at the very mouth, where it enters into the Sea.

Surely howsoever the Italians were of old very magnificent in many things, yet by obtruding their Latin tongue to all Nations they conquered, they did likewise make them conceive of every spring, brooke, and porch, as of the Worlds miracles. And there be some among them at this day, who in their sleeves laugh at Travellers, curiously searching after these Antiquities, thus made famous by old Writers, and who take pleasure to delude this their simplicity, (for such they esteeme it, howsoever wee doe but by the way search after them, having more profitable ends of our journies into Italie).

There be some other bridges of exceeding length, as those of Strasburg and Wien, (more knowne by the name of Vienna) in Germany, but they being onely built of timber, and laid over with loose peeces of timber, (that upon danger of Armies and inundations, they may be more easily broken and built up againe), and so being nothing lesse then durable, I doe onely here mention them.

*Goldsmiths
shops.*

The Goldsmiths shops at London in England, (being in divers streetes, but especially that called Cheape-side), are exceeding richly furnished continually with gold, and silver plate and Jewels. The Goldsmiths shops upon the bridges at Florence and Paris, have perhaps sometimes beene as richly or better furnished, for the time or some nuptiall Feast of the Princes or like occasion, with Plate and Jewels borrowed of private persons for that purpose: but I may lawfully say, setting all love of my Countrey apart, that I did never see any such daily shew, any thing so sumptuous in any place of the World, as in London.

*Churches and
Colledges.*

I will not speake in this place of Churches and Academicall Colledges, but referre them to their proper places, where in the last Part, I shall treat of Religion and Universities. Onely here it shall suffice in a word

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to say; that the Churches in England, and Colledges in the Universities thereof, (considering due circumstances) are to be much admired, and preferred before any in the World.

Munster affirmeth that the Romans built in Germany beyond the Rivers Danow & Rheine, more stately Cities, then are to be seene in other parts thereof: But for my part I would say that Nurnberg, Dresden, Breslawe, (the chiefe City of Silesia) and the Cities upon the Sea Coast towards the North, (called Hans stetten, that is, free Cities), are much fairer, and farre more magnificently built, then those that he nameth. The Cities within land (excepting Ertford, those of Hessen, and some like, which are built of timber, clay, and plaster, or of durt, and covered with tiles of wood), are built of great polished and carved free stones, foure or five stories high, with an high rooffe bearing windowes, and covered with tiles. Some of the foresaid Cities on the Sea Coast are built of free stone, but for the most part of bricke, and in the lower fore roome being commonly large, they have great dores (like gates) towards the streetes, which being open by day, expose to the eies of passengers, the bright puter dishes, and other like vessels of tin and brasse, which use to be set forth in the upper end of that roome. And not onely the private houses, but the publike streetes, are notable for clenlinesse, uniformity, and beauty. The houses and buildings upon the Alpes (excepting some few Cities, which are equall to the foresaid built within land, as Insprucke, lying in the way betweene Augsburg and Padoua) are built much lower, most commonly of freestone, and covered with tiles of wood, and for three parts of the yeere, they are continually covered with snow; and as through all Germany the casements of the windowes are little, so in these parts they are much lesse, so as a man can hardly put his head out of them, and the windowes on the Inside are all to be shut close with woodden windowes, they using all possible art to keepe the cold out, and to retaine

*Buildings in
Germany.*

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the heat of the stoaves within. Noblemens Castles in Germany, are for the most part answerable to the building of the Cities within Land, but they shew more antiquity, and are more built for strength then beauty: And the more stately Pallaces of Cities, and these Castles, in some places (as my selfe observed at Augsbург) but very rarely, are covered with copper, which Germany yeeldeth, but never with leade, whereof they have none of their owne. The building of houses in the Townes, is for matter like to that of the Cities, but lower, and the Villages for the most part are built of timber, clay, and plaster, or durt, and covered with tiles of wood, or the worst of them with straw. In generall, at the most frequented dores of every house, they have ropes, that men without by the ringing of a bell may be let in, and those within may open the dores by the pulling of a roape without going to them, and the dores likewise by waights are made to shut of themselves at the heeles of him that comes in, without the helpe of any hand. The windowes in generall are of a thicke glasse, with little casements closed in wood, not in iron, which they seldome open, that the stoaves may be kept warme. To conclude, Germany yeelds to no place in the World for the number or stately building of Cities, yet so as respecting the greatnesse thereof, it hath not so frequent and little distant Cities, as Netherland, and other lesse Dominions have.

*Of
Switzerland.*

Among the Cities of Sweitzerland, the building of Bern is most uniforme and faire; being of freestone, with arched Cloysters towards the streete, (as in some parts of Italy), under which men walke drie footed after the greatest raine: but most of the Cities (as of the Townes and Villages) are fairely built with timber, clay, and plaster, and commonly are seated on the declining sides of Mountaines and hills.

*Of
Boemerland.*

Of the last sort, are the houses of Boemerland, save that the wals and foundations are made of whole bodies of trees, as they are cut downe, even covered with the

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bark, and joined together with clay and mortar: And these houses are generally covered with tiles of wood, not with slates.

In the united Provinces, the houses are most of bricke, aswell in Cities as in Villages, and so uniforme, as if they had all beene built at a time, and by the same workemen. The fronts of them towards the streetes are commonly narrow, (excepting some few that are broad and high), and so are built inward in length, with narrow windowes, and nothing at all cast out from the wals, and the roofes have windowes for use of the roomes, being covered with tiles, or peeces of wood in the same forme. At Leyden and Delph the houses are built very high of many stories, and the roofes are steepe, and have also windowes for use. At the Hage, being a most pleasant Village, where the States keepe their residence, the building is like; but the Castle in which Count Maurice dwelt, and some few Gentlemens houses, are built of freestone, and in some outlanes many houses are covered with straw. The wares of Merchants, the vessels of tinne and brasse, (being kept most cleane) and like ornaments, lie open in the lowest and greatest roome, by large dores to passengers view, (as I formerly said of the Cities on the Sea coast of Germany). They build with very slender timber, so as the houses new built, threaten falling, and upon little force totter and shake. The floares are paved with plaster, boards being more costly, and apt to take fire. And these floares are daily cast over with sand, to keepe them from durt, onely by sweeping away the sand at night. [III. ii. 67.]

In the Kingdome of Denmarke, there is onely one Citie compassed with walles, called Kopenhagen, in which (as in the other little Cities, Townes, and Villages) the houses of the Citizens are for the most part of timber, clay and plaster, seldome of freestone. The Kings Castle there is built of free stone, but with no magnificence. His second Castle at Elsenure, is very stately built of freestone, and also strongly fortified, to command one

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side of the straight sea, where great tribute is exacted of all ships entring or going out of the Sound.

Of Poland. In Poland there be but few Cities for so large a Kingdome, but the houses of them are built of free stone, much like to the Inland Cities of Germany, save that in some places the houses are arched towards the streete, like the Cloysters of Monasteries. Some of the houses in the Villages are of timber, clay and plaster, but the greatest part of meere durt, and covered with straw. Few of the Noble mens houses are of free stone, but the greater part of timber, clay, and plaster.

Of Italy. The Italians are exceeding rich in their owne commodities, and by trafficke, which the Gentlemen and Princes scorne not to use, and they spending little in house-keeping or apparrell, all their pride is to build stately houses, water Counduits, Fountaines, and to have rich Jewels, and like permanent things. All the buildings have Thrasonically inscriptions, either ingraven or painted upon them of the founders praise, and almost of his pedigree. The houses of Citizens, and of the common sort are of unpolished stone, and commonly of little flints, lowly built, with a roofo almost lying flat (without windowes), and covered with tiles. The Gentlemens Pallaces are most frequent, and are built (as well in Cities, as in the Country) of carved freestone and marble, and most of them altogether of divers coloured Marbles. For they have many Quarries of marble, so as the same being not farre fetcht, the magnificence of their building is rather in shew, then in charge, to bee preferred before our buildings of polished freestone. Many of their Pallaces seeme fit to receive a King with his Court for the stately building, but not for the capacity, the Italian Families being small and solitary. The building of them is in such fashion, as the first upper chamber is large, and as long as a gallerie, fit to intertaine great companies, with feastes and dancing, the windowes being great, and lying open to admit ayre, and covered with Arras to leane upon, and having on the inside windowes

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of wood to close by night. The rest of the Chambers are on each side of this Gallerie, richly furnished with Hangings, Beds imbrodered, and sumptuous furniture, and Tapestry spread under feete where the chayres stand, but the roomes are narrow, and have little windowes covered, but not with glasse. For the windowes of all Italy are covered with linnen cloth, or paper, onely the Citie of Venice boasts of the singularitie, that the windowes thereof are commonly glazed, yet so are also the windowes of some few Pallaces in other parts. The Italians more willingly spend their money in building (wherein they delight to have coole chambers, with open Tarrasses, lying upon waters and shades, on the sides of the house where the Sunne least comes), and likewise in adorning Fountaines with shade, seates and images, in making caves under the earth, and water-conduits, then in any earthly thing, their mistresse alwaies excepted. And because they cannot indure labour (for their diseased joynts, or the heate of the Countrie), they strive to make their staires very easie, and by much compassing to raise the ground by little and little, wherein they use so great Art, as in some places a horseman may with ease, and almost unsensible ascent, ride up to the top of high Towers. The floares of their upper chambers are not boarded, but paved with plaster, or with a matter made of lime and tiles. Some Cities, as Bologna, Padoua, and others in the Dukedome of Mantua, are built with arches towards the streete, like Cloysters of Monasteries, and [III. ii. 68.] howsoever the streete is durty, yet under them is pleasant and dry walking, even in rainy weather. For other Cities, the streetes whereof lie open, at Rome they are paved conveniently with flints, at Sienna beautifully with bricke, at Florence, Pistoia, Lucca and Naples, stately with Freestone, very broad and easie.

Touching Turkey, in the Greeke Ilands, in Asia and Affricke, commonly the houses are built of unpolished stones and flint, onely one rooffe high, and many times with arches towards the street, alwaies with windowes

Of Turkey.

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not glazed or covered but open, and the floare on the top of houses, is beaten plaine with plaster, and compassed with a wall, indented on the top some yard high. And here in the open aire they eate, and walke by day, and lodge at night, so as a man may see all his neighbours in bed about him. For they are seldome (some once or twice in the yeere, about September) troubled with raine. Particularly at Jerusalem, for their locks, the keyes be made of wood, not of Iron. At Constantinople and in the Provinces adjoyning, the houses are commonly of impolished stone and flint, or of timber and clay plastered, or of earth formed like bricke, but not hardned by fier, and are built some two stories high, and with a rooffe almost lying flat, without windowes, and covered with tiles, much after the common building of Italy. In generall the houses have large windowes, not closed with glasse, or other thing, but altogether open, only by night to be closed with wodden windowes, after the Italian manner. The streetes of Constantinople are narrow, raised on each side for the passage of men and women, but there also narrow, the middle part of the streetes being so broad, as one Asse or like beast loaded may passe, for they use no Coaches or Carts. The Sultans or Emperours Pallace (vulgarly called Saray, and by the Italians Seraglio) is of some three square Courtyards, built round about of Freestone, and pieces of Marble, with arches towards the yard like Cloysters, which are paved with broad stones, & this Pallace hath a very spacious Garden round compassed with a stone wall. Some few Pallaces of the Visiers or Bashaes in this City, are built of polished Freestone, two roofes high with the highest rooffe almost flat, after the manner of the Italian Pallaces. And it is worth the observation, that each Mosche (or Turkish Church) rising in the top with divers Globes, and they being covered with brasse or Copper, they make a beautifull shew, especially the Sunne shining, and more especially, because they are seated upon hilles. The Turkish Bashaes laugh at them, who tell how

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beautifull and stately the Christians Pallaces are built on the out-side, as if they onely respected the inward magnificence. But Christians doe also desire this inward beauty, some more some lesse. And that the Turkes neglect outward beauty, the desire of inward beauty is not the true reason thereof. For as they place all religion in the shew and outward things, so no doubt they would in this also greatly respect the outside, were it not that they live under such a tyrannical Government, which makes all the Empire full of desolation, so as they doe not preserve the houses they conquered from Christians in their wonted magnificence, much lesse themselves erect such stately buildings, yea dare not have any rich householdstuffe, at least to be vulgarly seene, lest their riches should make them a prey to their Magistrates or souldiers, finding nothing so safe unto them, as the sordide shew of povertie. And this is the cause that many of them hide and bury their treasure under the earth, whereof the free use would prove dangerous to them, and as the Poet saith,

Quò mihi divitiæ? Si non conceditur uti.

What doe riches profit me?

Who to use them am not free.

But the Turkes, and especially the Christians subject to them, being borne and from infancy bred under the yoke of perpetuall slavery, and having never tasted the sweetnesse of liberty, doe beare with ease this burthen, which we thinke unsupportable.

In France the houses of Paris are of unpolished great stones, covered over with plaster, and are built stately three or foure, sometimes sixe roofes high (with the highest rooffe, which hath windowes), and they are covered with tiles. The building of other Cities, is commonly of timber, clay and plaster, sometimes of freestone, and foure or five roofes high, whereof each as it is higher, so is more projected into the streete, much darkening the same, and causing the raine to fall into the middest

Of France.
[III. ii. 69.]

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thereof. The streetes are no broader then for two Carts to meete, and passe one by the other. Almost under every house is a Cellar to lay up wine, Perry, Cyder, and all kinds of drinke, and few of the windowes are glazed, which are also darkened with grates of wood, the rest are altogether open, to be shut by night with windowes of wood. The building of the Villages is like ours in England, commonly of timber and clay, and thatched over. The Gentlemens houses are built like those in the Cities, whereof I have spoken: but the Pallaces of great Lords for the most part are stately built of free stone; yet more beautifull and stately are the Kings Pallaces, commonly of free stone curiously carved, with pillers of marble, and sometimes of bricke, with peeces of marble in the parts most open to the eye. Among these Pallaces of the King, that of Fontainebleau, is the most stately and magnificent that I did see, and most pleasant for the gardens and sweete Aire.

Of England.

Cæsar in his Commentaries, saith; that buildings of England were then like those of France. Now at London the houses of the Citizens (especially in the chiefe streetes) are very narrow in the front towards the streete, but are built five or sixe roofes high, commonly of timber and clay with plaster, and are very neate and commodious within: And the building of Citizens houses in other Cities, is not much unlike this. But withall understand, that in London many stately Pallaces, built by Noblemen uppon the River Thames, doe make a very great shew to them that passe by water; and that there be many more like Pallaces, also built towards Land, but scattered, and great part of them in backe lanes and streetes, which if they were joined to the first in good order, as other Cities are built uniformly, they would make not onely faire streetes, but even a beautifull City, to which few might justly be preferred for the magnificence of the building. Besides, that the Aldermens and chiefe Citizens houses howsoever they are stately for building, yet being built all inward, that the whole roome towards the streets

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may be reserved for shoppes of Tradesmen, make no shew outwardly, so as in truth all the magnificence of London building is hidden from the view of strangers at the first sight, till they have more particular view thereof by long abode there, and then they will preferre the buildings of this famous City to many that appeare more stately at the first sight. Great part of the Townes and Villages, are built like the Citizens houses in London, save that they are not so many stories high, nor so narrow in the front towards the streete. Others of them are built in like sort, of unpolished small stones, and some of the Villages in Lincolneshire and some other Countries, are of meere clay, and covered with thatch; yet even these houses are more commodious within, for clenlinesse, lodging, and diet, then any stranger would thinke them to be. Most of the houses in Cities and Townes, have Cellers under them, where for coolenesse they lay Beere and Wine. Gentlemens houses for the most part are built like those in the Cities, but very many of Gentlemens and Noblemens Pallaces, aswell neere London, as in other Countries, are stately built of bricke and free stone, whereof many yeelde not in magnificence to like buildings of other Kingdomes, as Homby, built by Sr Christopher Hatton, Tybals lately belonging to the Earle of Salisbury, seated neere London, & the Earle of Exceter his house neer Stamford: by which Pallaces lying neere the high way, a stranger may judge of many other like stately buildings in other parts. The Kings Pallaces are of such magnificent building, so curious art, and such pleasure and beauty for gardens and fountaines, and are so many in number, as England need not envie any other Kingdome therein. Among them being manie, a stranger may see neere London, the King Pallaces, of Hampton Court, of Richmond, of Greenewich, of Nonsuch, of Otelands, of Schene, of Winsore, and in London the Pallace of White Hall.

In Scotland the Citie Edenborough, is fairlie built of *Of Scotland.*
unpolished stone, but the galleries of timber built upon

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[III. ii. 74.]

the fronts of the houses, doe rather obscure then adorne them : And the Kings Pallace at one end, and the fortified Castle at the other end of the City, are more statelie built then the rest, but all the beautie of the Citie consists of one large streete, the by lanes being few, and full of beggery. The houses in Villages, and scattered in the Countrie, are like to those in England, but the Gentlemens and Noblemens houses are nothing so frequent, nor so stately built as the better sort of the English. Neither are their Townes and Cities in number, building, or pleasantnesse, comparable to those in England. Lastly, the Villages of clay covered with straw, are much more frequent then in England, and farre lesse commodious within. Among the Kings Pallaces, that at Edenburg, and that of Sterling for the building, and Fawkland for the pleasure of hunting, are the chiefe.

Of Ireland.

The houses of the Irish Cities, as Corke, Galoway and Lymrick (the fairest of them for building) are of unwrought free stone, or flint, or unpolished stones, built some two stories high, and covered with tile. The houses of Dublin and Waterford, are for the most part of timber, clay and plaster, yet are the streetes beautifull, and the houses commodious within, even among the Irish, if you pardon them a little slovenlinesse, proper to the Nation. In generall, the houses very seldome keepe out raine, the timber being not well seasoned, and the walles being generally combined with clay only, not with morter of lime tempered. The Irish have some quarries of Marble, but only some few Lords and Gentlemen bestow the cost to polish it. Many Gentlemen have Castles built of free stone unpolished, and of flints, or little stones, and they are built strong for defence in times of rebellion, for which cause they have narrow staires, and little windowes, and commonly they have a spatious hall joyning to the Castle, and built of timber and clay, wherein they eate with their Family. Neither are many of these gentle mens houses void of filth, and slovenlinesse. For other Irish dwellings, it may be said of them,

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as Cæsar said of the old Brittaines houses. They call it a Towne, when they have compassed a skirt of wood with trees cut downe, whether they may retire themselves and their cattle. For the meere barbarous Irish either sleepe under the canopy of heaven, or in cabbines watled, and covered with turfe.

The Germans long injoying settled peace, the French and the Netherlanders for many yeeres distracted with warres, have many Cities strongly fortified with ditches and earthen walles. The Turkes, Polonians, Sweitzers, Bohemians, Danes, English, Scots and Irish have few Forts or fortified places. The Kings of England, have caused such to be dismantled and puld downe, as incouragement to the Nobles to contemne their authoritie, onely at Barwick against the bordering Scots, and at Porthsmouth against the neighbouring French, they have maintained fortifications to hinder incursion. The Turkes neither fortifie themselves, nor maintaine the strong places they have conquered from Christians. In Denmarke the Citie Kopenhagen, and in Poland Crakaw and Warsaw are in some sort fortified. And in Ireland the English of late have made small Forts upon some few Havens to prevent forraigne invasion, and in some inland territories to suppress the rebellious inclination of some Irish Lords. Otherwise in the said Kingdomes, if any Cities be compassed with walles, they are ready to fall for age, and are rather fit to resist the first fury of ill armed mutiners, then to indure a sharpe siege, or the very sight of the Cannon. Like are most of the Cities in Italy, only at Naples and at Milan there be two strong forts, and at Rome a strong Castle, and in Lombardy, and especially in the State of Venice, many Cities and some Forts made as strong, as huge charge and exquisit art can make them.

*Of Forts in
generall.*

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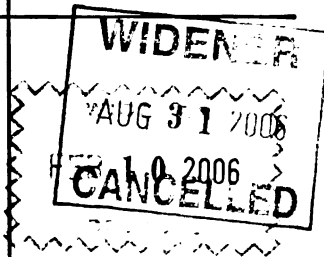
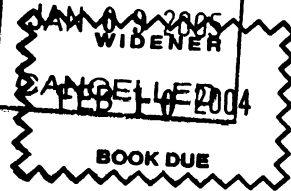




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